

NEW LIGHT ON THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

VOL. II

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD, THE ARYAN PROBLEM & THE ATHARVA VEDA

K. N. SASTRI









ATMA RAM & SONS, DELHI-6

NEW LIGHT ON

THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

Vol. II

NEW LIGHT
ON
THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

Vol. II

Dealing with

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD, THE ARYAN PROBLEM AND THE ATHARVAVEDA

by

K. N. SASTRI
M.A., M.O.L.

Formerly Excavation Assistant to the Director General of Archaeology in India and Curator, Archaeological Museum, Harappa



1965

ATMA RAM & SONS
PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS
DELHI-6

Published by
RAM LAL PURY
of
ATMA RAM & SONS
Kashmere Gate
DELHI-6

Branches

Chaura Rasta	:	JAIPUR
Hauz Khas	:	NEW DELHI
University Enclave	:	CHANDIGARH
17, Ashok Marg	:	LUCKNOW

Price : **Rs. 10.00**

Printed at
EVEREST PRESS
4 Chamelian Road
DELHI-6

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations

Introduction

On account of the nature of its contents the present volume has been divided into two parts. Part I deals with the method of disposal of the dead followed by the Indus people and their belief in life after death. It embodies six chapters describing in some detail the burial customs that were in vogue in various periods of the Indus Civilization during its long span of life extending over fifteen hundred years.

Chapter I describes the jar—as well as the earth-burials excavated in 1927-28 to 1931-32 in the two strata of Cemetery at Harappa. Chapter II explains the significance of important burial scenes painted on the jars of the upper stratum depicting dead man's journey to the Solar World. The next chapter has been devoted to the analysis of the paintings on the funeral pottery that accompanied the earth-burials of the lower stratum.

Chapter IV comments on the eschatological beliefs of the Indus people who firmly held that the spirit of the dead man journeyed to the radiant solar spheres after its release from the mortal coil and, surrounded by a halo of glory, it enjoyed there eternal repose. In the same chapter are also described collectively typical specimens of painted pottery bearing either the *pipal* leaf or the rayed orb motifs.

Chapter V recapitulates the evidence covered by the preceding chapters and arrives at certain conclusions which logically result from the foregoing investigation. There is no doubt that the Cemetery H people believed in the continuity of human life even after death and in the passage of soul in diverse forms of animal life and its ultimate access to the Land of Bliss which was par excellence the Solar World (*Sūrya Loka*). On its way it had to cross a dark abysmal region intercepted by a horrible river full of all sorts of perils of life. The essential condition for gaining access to the above refulgent world was, however, the partial metamorphosis of the spirit of the deceased (*preta*) into the form of a peacock. Without this transformation it was impossible for it to attain those radiant spheres.

The main interest of the Chapter lies in the fact that *aśvattha* (*ficus religiosa*), the peacock, the lotus and the bull were in a mysterious way linked with the Solar World to which the spirit of the dead (*Preta*) repaired after its departure from this world of mortals. The aforesaid four associates of the Solar World play a very important role in helping the spirit attain those luminous regions. This conclusion is fully borne out by the paintings appearing on the funeral pottery of the two strata in Cemetery H at Harappa. It is worthy of note that the above associates of the Solar World have

their analogies in the *Atharvaveda* which are brought out in detail in Chapter XIII of this volume.

Chapter V briefly surveys the earth-burials which were brought to light by the writer in Cemetery R 37 in 1937 and subsequently excavated for four years upto 1940-41. In 1946 Dr. Mortimer Wheeler drove several trial trenches in this area. This cemetery which antedates Cemetery H by a few centuries was the work of the earlier population—the authors of true Harappa culture. Altogether fifty seven graves were laid bare in this area of which four yielded complete and the rest anciently disturbed skeletons. Here also, like the earth-burials of Cemetery H/II, the dead bodies were provided with mortuary equipment, though the orientation of the dead and the accompanying pottery differed in the two cemeteries. In Cemetery R 37 were exhumed numerous new pottery forms hitherto unencountered in the habitation areas of the Harappa ruins.

In Chapter VI are brought out comparisons and contrasts between the Cemeteries R 37 and H (Stratum II). The points of comparison comprise : (1) the people of both the cemeteries buried their dead in oblong earth-pits accompanied with funeral pottery ; (2) both people believed in the Land of Bliss where the spirit of the dead (*preta*) had its final abode ; (3) both held *aśvattha* sacred and attributed to the peacock certain occult powers whereby it could pilot the spirit of the dead to the Solar World ; (4) both believed in the eternity of human existence and thought that in a subtle form it outlived the gross body after the latter's dissolution ; (5) the bull which became such a favourite motif with the people of the Cemetery H/I was non-existent among paintings on the pottery of Cemetery H/II and R 37 ; and (6) occurrence on the potteries of the two cemetries of peacock, *aśvattha* and the *pipal* leaves but not of the goat. The contrasts between the burial practices of the two people comprise differences in the orientation of the dead body as well as in the forms of pottery. Personal ornaments and toilet objects encountered in several graves in R 37 were conspicuously absent in Cemetery H/II as also in the multiple burial G 289 in Area G. Another notable difference was that besides *aśvattha*, the other celestial plant, viz., *śamī*, also occurred as a motif on the R 37 ware but was non-existent in Cemetery H/II. These twin plants were held sacred by the Indus people and also worshipped as cult objects.

Let it be noted that in the time of Cemetery H/I not only the *pipal* and the peacock had acquired functional importance, but to them were further added two more, viz., the bull and the lotus. Henceforward the peacock and the bull play a very significant role as vehicles of the spirit (*preta*) in its onward journey to the Solar World. The question whether there were any racial affinities between the authors of the two cemeteries (R 37 and H/II) on the one hand and between those of Cemeteries H/II and H/I on the other has also been discussed in the light of the archaeological as well as anthropological evidence.

The discovery of a prehistoric cemetery at Rupar in the Ambala district of the Panjab has also been noticed briefly. Though Harappan in origin, it appears several centuries later than R 37, as indicated by the total absence of many characteristic items of the funeral equipment. The same chapter further refers to the multiple burial No. G 289 unearthed by Mr. Vats in Area G at Harappa and discusses its bearing on the Indus chronology.

Part II of this volume comprises seven chapters (VII-XIII) and reviews the Aryan problem in the light of the Indus Civilization and other protohistoric data recently discovered. It closes with Chapter XIV which describes the secular pottery of the Indus Age with special reference to the colossal storage jars subsequently employed as memorial jars (*Śrāddha bhāndas*). This practice was part of the funeral ritual performed in honour of the deceased relative and it closely resembled the Hindu custom of *śraddha-tarpana* (offerings of water, food etc. to the manes).

Chapter VII recounts several current theories regarding the original home of the Vedic Aryans and critically examines each on its merits. The outstanding among them are : (1) the Indo-European or the Indo-Germanic, (2) the Nordic, (3) the Central Asian, (4) the Arctic Home of the Aryans and (5) the *Sapta-Sindhavah* theory. None of them seems sound enough to merit acceptance in its entirety. Nevertheless the last one, namely, the *Sapta Sindhavah*, seems more attractive and rational than the others. It appears to be in conformity with the literary data recorded in the Rigveda and other early literature. In the Rigveda there are interesting relics of fossil history recalling palaeolithic conditions of life which existed before the dawn of the neolithic age. References to weapons of stone and bone, non-mention of wheat (*godhuma*), tiger, and many of other things in this *Samhitā* show that it existed even prior to the origin of the Indus Civilization.

This chapter also considers in all its aspects the evidence adduced by the advocates of the Indo-European theory regarding the European origin of the Indo-Aryans and exposes its weak points. The Hittites, the Kassites, the Hurrians, the Mitannians, the Greek Dynasts, the builders of *terramaricoli* in the Po Valley in Italy, the authors of ochre graves and of the *kurgans* in Russia—none of these people of different nationalities for whom claims have been put forward by western scholars can stand the test of scrutiny to be the forerunners of the Indo-European Aryans.

Sir John Marshall was of the opinion that Mother Goddess figured as Supreme Deity of the Indus people and female element dominated their religious system, whereas the Vedic Aryans worshipped male gods. Another chief point of contrast between the two people, according to him, was that the inhabitants of the Indus Valley were urban people who lived in well-planned cities, while the Vedic Aryans, worshipped male deities and goddesses played only an insignificant part. As regards the second point I have given in this chapter copious quotations from the work of the great Vedic scholar H.H. Wilson to demonstrate that the early Indo-Aryans

were not barbarian nomads, but highly civilized and well advanced in various arts and sciences.

Chapter VIII critically examines the archaeological evidence advanced from time to time by the western scholars to prove that the Vedic Aryans entered North-West India for the first time round about the conventional date of *C.* 1500 B. C. The evidence includes the discovery of copper and bronze weapons and implements such as trunnion-axes, a solitary dagger, antennae swords, barbed harpoons etc. found widely scattered in different parts of North-West India. The numerous Painted Grey Ware sites found in the tract anciently known as Kuru-Panchala, or the *Brahmarshi-deśa*, and the post-Harappan occupational deposits at Chanhu-daro, Jhukar, Jhangar and Harappa—now all in Pakistan—have further been cited by some archaeologists as ancient settlements of the Vedic Aryans. Certain copper finds, like forks, disc-headed pins, double-animal-headed protomes, spear-heads and axe-adzes have been found in prehistoric sites of Hissar, Turang Tepe (Iran) and in North Caucasus. These have been interpreted by R. H. Geldern as possible relics of the massive Aryan migration to India. Allusion has also been made in this chapter to the article of Col. Gordon published in Ancient India No. 10 and 11 where he elaborates on his imaginary "Period of Invasions" lasting from *C.* 1800 B. C. to 1400 B.C. This period, in his opinion, was marked by a great ethnic upheaval and unrest in Iran and North-West Asia. According to him this commotion resulted from the onslaught of the Indo-Europeans advancing towards India through Mesopotamia and Iran in the middle of the second millennium B.C.

In the concluding paragraph of this chapter it has been argued that none of the archaeological evidence, referred to above, could in any way be reminiscent of the mighty invasion of the Rigvedic Aryans heading towards India. Dr. Hrozny's theory that the Indus Civilization was of Hittite origin has been shown based on misunderstanding and faulty premises, and therefore totally unacceptable.

A brief account of the excavation carried out by Brig. Ross in the neolithic mound of Rana Ghundai in North Baluchistan has also been incorporated in this chapter. The writer has tried to show in the light of the excavator's own evidence that the first two cultural phases at that site were inspired not by Iran but by an eastern cultural province. This is confirmed by the discovery of bones of domestic Indian ox, Indian sheep and of large cavalry horse of the Indian breed (Cf. *saindhavo mahāsuhayah*, *Śatapatha Br. 14, 4, 1*). In Period II the dwellings of the chalcolithic inhabitants were built of unbaked mud-bricks although the locality abounded in a more permanent and easily available building material like stone. This argues in favour of the tradition of constructing mud-brick houses having been introduced by a people who were natives of alluvial plains like those of the Indus Valley. On the pottery of this period are painted the Indian humped bull and the straight-horned Indian antelope—a clear evidence which again points to the Indian origin of this cultural phase. It was not influenced by Iran as believed by Col. Ross.

In Chapter IX are discussed Dr. M. Wheeler's views as set forth in his article "Archaeology and the Transmission of Ideas" (Antiquity, XXVI, pp. 180-191) in which he attempts to prove against all available evidence that Indus Civilization was an offshoot of the Sumerian civilization. The writer analyses his line of argument which is based more on philosophy than on concrete archaeological evidence, and shows that his approach to this momentous problem is utterly unscientific and arbitrary.

Chapters X—XIII have been planned to bring out in detail the parallelisms and close correspondences between the Indus and the Middle Vedic cultures. The common points of correspondence between the two include : the sanctity of the bull as well as of the *aśvattha* ; the sacrific of *anustaraṇī* cow and the *Pañchaudana* goat as part of the funeral ritual; the offering of obsequial cakes (pindas), collyrium, cosmetics, ornaments etc. to the manes (spirits of the departed ancestors); the journey of the spirit (*preta*) to the Solar World ; the continuity of human life in a subtle form (*sukshma-śarīra*) ; belief in heaven and hell ; association of peacock and lotus with the Solar World ; the worship of the sun as the supreme deity of the Atharvan and the Indus people ; the portrayal of the *Āditya-Purusha* on the Indus Seals ; the sanctity of *aśvattha* and *śami* as divine trees and their glorification on the Indus seals as well as in the Vedic literature ; and representation of the solar orb with rays radiating in the form of *aśvattha* leaves (*saptā-śvatthā-mayukhā-antarvedim śayīran, Mait. Saṁhitā,* 2, 1).

Chapter XI presents a graphic picture of the various types of seals and sealings from the Indus Valley and their employment as charms and amulets in superstition-ridden age when every ill or ailment of life was sought to be remedied through the instrumentality of amulets, incantations and prayer formulae. The long list of about two hundred charms and incantations given in Chapter XII are mostly drawn from the *Atharvaveda*. Both in the Indus Civilization and the *Atharaveda* there were charms and amulets which could also promote health, happiness, concord in family life and secure a host of other good things that a person wishes for in this world.

According to the *Atharvaveda* charms and amulets, called *maṇis*, were kept in private houses as divine guests, worshipped and offered incenses, food, honey, wine etc. for winning their favour. They were also worn on person with gold or silver wires and carried about from place to place for protection. There is no doubt that a majority of the Indus seals bearing gods, goddesses and sacred *yantras*, too, were objects of worship and likewise offered incenses etc. in private houses. Many of these Indus seals, when excavated, bore smoke-marks, obviously the result of burning incenses and sacred lights before them.

Chapter XIII is devoted to the exposition of close contacts and parallelisms between the cultures of the Indus and the Atharvan periods. The spirit of the two cultures breathes an air of superstition and animistic idiosyncracies almost identical with each other.

The conditions of daily life and the worldly problems of the two people were also very similar. The *Rigveda* is absolutely ignorant of the Indus Civilization. On the other hand the *Atharvaveda* knows it fairly well. This is borne out not only by a large number of clear cultural analogies but also by the specific mention of several Babylonian names, such as *Taimāta*, *Āligī*, *Viligi*, *Urugulā*, *Tābuva* and Apsu in this *Saṁhitā*. The evidence on hand definitely leads to the conclusion that the Indus Civilization was in all probability contemporary with the Atharvan Age. This not only pushes back the date of the *Atharvaveda* to the third millennium B. C., but at the same time demonstrates that the *Rigveda* is earlier than the Indus Civilization. In the light of the foregoing investigation it may safely be observed that the scholars who look for traces of the Rigvedic Aryans advancing towards India round about the conventional date of *C.* 1500 B.C. are simply groping in darkness and running after an elusive chimaera—a pursuit that is bound to prove futile ultimately.

There is nothing to wonder at if the date of the *Atharvaveda Samhitā* appears pushed back to the third millennium B.C. by the impact of the evidence brought to light by the discovery of the Indus Civilization. The tentative dating of the *Atharvaveda* by the Western scholars between *C.* 1200 and 1000 B.C. is hypothetical and of a speculative character. According to a well known Vedic scholar, Winternitz, it is doubtful whether the peculiarities of language and metre employed in the magic incantations of the *Atharvaveda* as distinct from the sacrificial poetry of the Rigveda, should lead us to the conclusion that it belongs to as late a period as *C.* 1000 B.C. Differences of language, metre and the subject-matter between the *Rigveda* and the *Atharvaveda* may have been due to the fact that the poetry of the former was for the use of the priestly class, while that of the latter had a popular appeal intended to suit the requirements of the common folk.

—*K. N. Sastri*

Disposal of the Dead and Belief in Life After Death

General. The discovery of two prehistoric cemeteries at Harappa has thrown a flood of light on the method of disposal of the dead and the eschatalogical beliefs of the people of the Indus Age. One of them, the Cemetery H, came to light as a result of the exposure of the tops of a few jars after a heavy shower in the rainy season of 1927. This cemetery, though prehistoric, is comparatively later in date and belonged to an alien people who arrived at Harappa sometime not long after circa 2000 B.C. when the earlier culture was declining. The other cemetery, *viz.*, R. 37, was discovered by the writer in 1937 while digging a pit in the southern extremity of Cemetery H for depositing heaps of examined potsherds. This is ascribable to the early people, the originators of the true Harappa culture. Though the authors of the two cemeteries practised one and the same mode of disposal of the dead, namely inhumation, the two kinds of burials unearthed in the respective burial grounds, reveal fundamental differences in detail, such as styles of pottery and other accompanying funeral equipment.

Cemetery H. The Cemetery H is situated about 150 yards to the north-north-west of the Archaeological Museum, Harappa, in the low-lying area at the foot of Mounds D and E. Being exposed to the fury of the annual floods, rushing down the steep slopes of the high mounds, a considerable thickness of the superposed earth has been washed away by the relentless action of rainwater in the course of several millennia. Consequently in certain cases only a thin veneer of earthy crust concealed from view certain burial-pots which were obviously laid at a considerable depth at the time of inhumation. It was precisely due to this circumstance that in the rainy season of 1927, after a heavy downpour, the tops of a few burial jars cropped up above the ground surface. The writer, who was at that time in charge of the archaeological sites and the Museum at Harappa, reported the discovery to Mr. M. S. Vats, the then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, Lahore. In February, 1928, he excavated the area all round the find-spot of the aforesaid jars and recovered another group of seven burial-jars. The examination of their contents proved beyond doubt the existence of a full-fledged prehistoric cemetery at this site. After going through the legal process of acquiring land Mr. Vats was able to undertake a large scale excava-

tion of the site in the field-season of 1929-30, which he continued

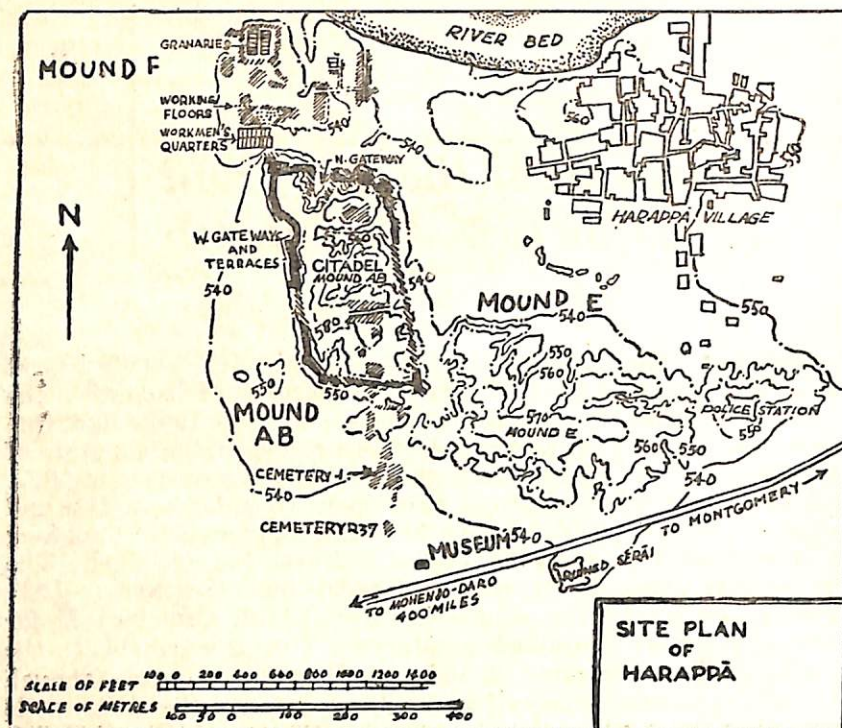


Fig I.

during the working seasons of 1930 31 and 1933-34. The total area finally brought under spade measured some 3800 square yards or a little over three-quarters of an acre.

Here, in the area thus excavated, which was marked by an extreme paucity of structural remains, Mr. Vats uncovered two distinct strata of prehistoric burials. The upper stratum consisted of more than 135 burial-jars of various shapes and sizes, while the lower one yielded a large number of earth-burials, both entire and fractional,

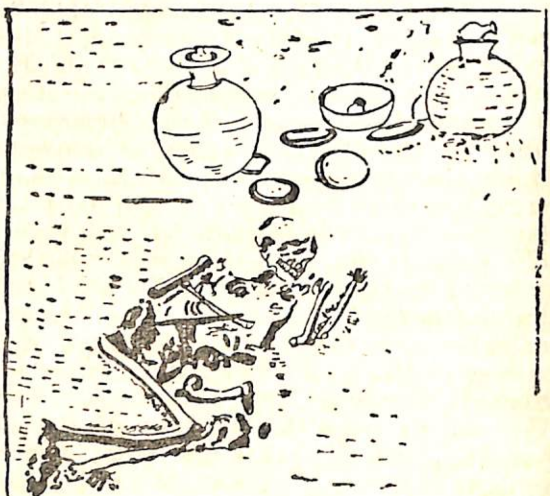


Fig. 2.

generally accompanied by funeral pottery. The concomitant necropolitan pottery comprised long-necked cocoanut-shaped water-pots (*Kalasa*), bowls, dishes or plates-on-stand, saucers, flat covers, flasks, etc. The burial urns of the upper stratum were, in the order of frequency, of three dominant types, *viz.*, the round (Fig. 3/6), ellipsoid (Fig. 3/1-4), and carinated (Fig. 3/5). Some urns were provided with neck-flanges perforated with three or four equidistant holes for securing lids. Some jars were secured by placing bricks round their bases

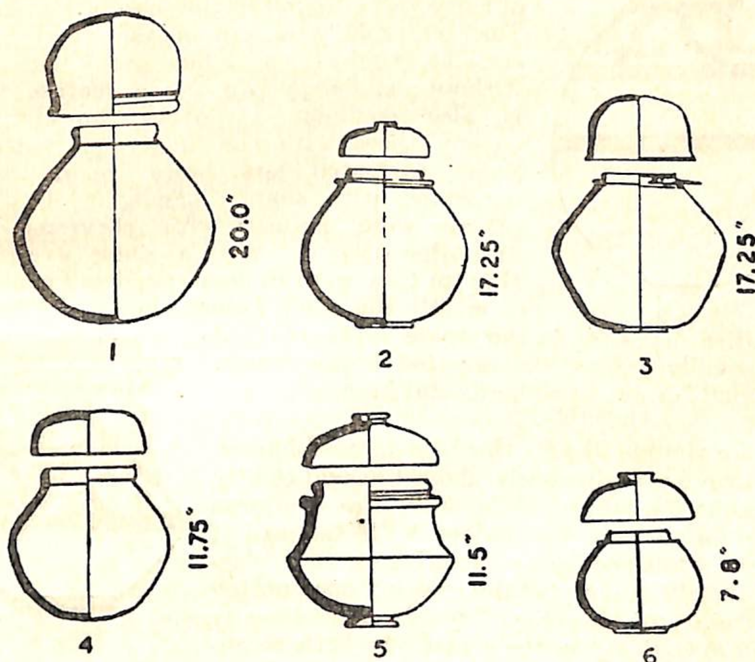


Fig. 3.

for firmness. The height of the burial jars varied between 9·75 and 23·75 inches. The round jars, the commonest of all, were either plain or painted. The latter had neck-flanges and sometimes were provided with a ring base (Fig. 3/2). The plain jars had their bottoms roughened by tipping or grooving with fingers the applique coat of clay while it was still wet (Fig. 4). The same result could also have been obtained by beating the applique coat of clay with a rough dabber. The jars with the finger-tip or finger-groove patterns were used for burial of the dead bodies of babies in their entirety. The smaller jars were turned on wheel in

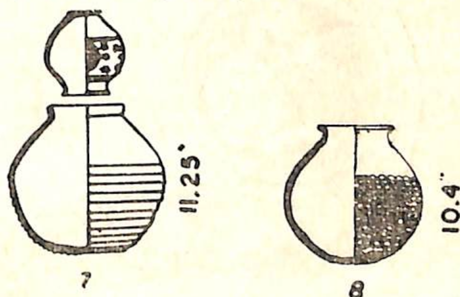


Fig. 4.

a single piece, while the larger ones were moulded on the wheel in two pieces and subsequently joined together in the middle. In many jars the crude mid-rib formed by the juncture of the two halves easily reveals the potter's technique. In fineness of clay, texture, deep red colour and the peculiar style of paintings they form a class by themselves and are essentially different from the secular pottery of early period found in the habitation areas. The ellipsoid jars are characterised by a straight, rimless collar-like neck with or without a flange (Fig. 5), a feature that is also common to other burial jars except those with the finger-tip pattern. Some carinated jars were plain, some decorated with simple bands, while a few others were painted with chevrons, fish and other designs. With a single exception (Fig. 6) they were all small-sized and contained mostly the skull bones alone. All burial jars when deposited in the graves were covered with smaller vessels, like inverted bowls, vases, flasks, lids or even potsherds and bricks.

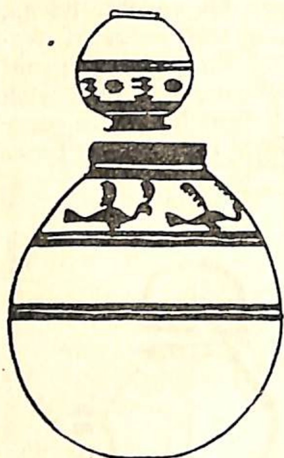


Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

In the burial pots the dismembered human bones were promiscuously shoved in and tightly packed at the bottom. Generally the skull was placed on one side in contact with the wall of the urn, while the leg and arm bones were placed obliquely or horizontally crossing one another in various positions (Fig. 7*a*). In a good many cases the skull lay in the centre or a little eccentrically (Fig. 7*b*), and the long bones stood erect. Even the largest burial-urn was too small to accommodate the entire body. Moreover,

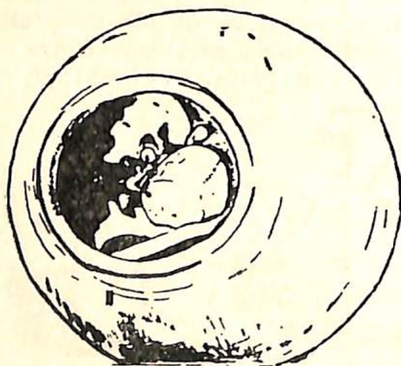


Fig. 7(*a*)



Fig. 7(*b*)

among the skeletal remains forming the contents of each and every

pot some or the other bones were always missing. So that if out of the human remains of a single representative jar an attempt were made to reassemble and reconstruct the whole skeleton, the task would have proved futile. The only conclusion to be drawn from this phenomenon was that the burial-pots under discussion contained secondary and not primary burials. In other words, the dead bodies were first cast away to the elements for some time,[1] say a month or so, in the deserted part of the town or in its neighbourhood. When the flesh was devoured by the birds and beasts of prey the remnants of the excarnated skeleton were picked up and deposited in jars by the relatives of the deceased. The practice of secondary burial finds support from the fact that in a deserted part of the ancient town, now forming part of Mound AB, were exhumed by Mr. Vats in 1927-28, in a small enclosure of the Intermediate Period, a lot of human remains comprising two skulls, one mandible and a few other minor bones.[2] This small enclosure could possibly be one of the few fixed places in close proximity of the inhabitated city where dead bodies were temporarily exposed to elements for a short period before their final deposition in burial-pots.

The most outstanding characteristic of the funeral pottery of the two strata uncovered in the Cemetery H is that it is entirely distinct in respect of the shapes, texture and decoration from the early Harappa pottery excavated in the habitation sites. The vessels are made of clayey earth of fine grain which is well levigated and tempered with *degraissants*. They were fired at a high temperature to a deep red tint, as against the light red of a coarse ware of the early period and give a shrill metallic ring when struck together. Similarly the types of the burial pots of the upper stratum and the small-sized funeral pottery of the lower levels underneath them betray an entirely different ceramic tradition which is quite alien to the one reflected in the early secular pottery of the town site, mainly represented by Mounds AB,D and F. The authors of the Cemetery H have accordingly been believed to belong to an alien racial strain and to have appeared at the stage at a time when the earlier culture was in the final stage of its decadence. As a rule, one jar was intended to contain the bones of a single person, but in several pots the bones of two or more persons were found together. This perhaps was due to the fact that at the time of collecting skeletal remains after the normal period of exposure, small pieces of extraneous bones lying scattered about in the neighbourhood might have got mixed up.

Some burial-jars were interesting on account of their exceptional contents. One jar (H 154) which contained the bones of an adult, also yielded a small double-convex narrow-necked painted vase.

---

1. 'Exposure of the dead to be devoured by vultures was and still is a Persian (Parsi) custom'. (*Herodotus*)

"It is practised to this day in Tibet and was in ancient times the usage of the Lichchhavis of Vaisali, who appear to have been either Tibetans or a cognate people." *Indian Antiquary*, 1904, p. 239.

2. Vats, M.S., *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 161.

Jar No. H 231 *b*, with the bones of a young person, had two cog-wheel-shaped nose-discs of steatite. Some four jars had only fragmentary skulls and no other bones. Several urns yielded bones of two persons, and in one jar there were bones of a small ruminant along with those of a child. Perhaps the animal, being a pet of the child, was sacrificed to accompany it to the next world when the latter died.

Jar No. H 149 is particularly noteworthy. It was full of ashy earth freely mixed with pieces of charcoal, blackened potsherds and numerous fragments of charred and uncharred bones, including one charred bone of a bird, two fragmentary terracotta triangular cakes, one drinking goblet with pointed base typical of the Indus period, one dish, a terracotta ball, piece of a bangle and a stone pestle. It is difficult to explain in this case correctly the co-existence of the charred and half-charred bones along with the uncalcined ones as also the presence of various other objects which are a peculiarity of the jar. It only reminds one of the so-called post-cremation (according to me 'memorial') jars some of which contained similar minutiae. I find it difficult to agree with Mr. Vats that in this case the body was first exposed and then partially burnt after which the bones were collected and buried. There was no necessity of nor any logic in cremating the remnants of the excarnated skeleton after its exposure. Its contents are strikingly similar to the memorial jars of the early Harappa culture which have yielded animal bones and other sundry objects. This burial urn might have been used as a memorial jar to accompany some other burial jar with the usual ritualistic contents. Moreover, the calcined and uncalcined bones found in this jar do not appear to have been identified as human bones. A small bone has no doubt been identified as that of a bird.* The unidentified charred, partially charred and uncharred bones might be animal bones in which case the above surmise will be justified to some extent. Dr. Guha who examined these bones simply writes that 'a large number of bones show undoubted evidence of calcination'.

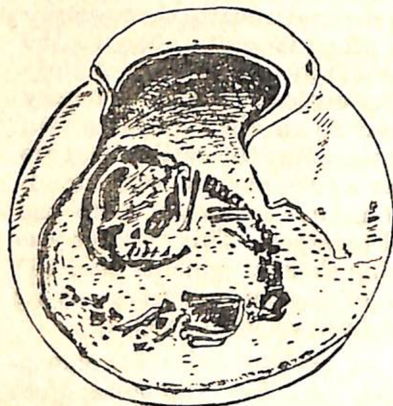


Fig. 9.

Eleven jars, of which one is ellipsoid, one oval, and nine round, were used for the interment of babies. Mr. Vats in his excavation found conclusive proof that babies were first tied up in the embryonic position, then probably wrapped in a piece of c oth and finally placed

*Could this be the bone of a peacock ?

Personally I am inclined to think that as a part of the funeral ritual sometimes a peacock was also sacrificed to accompany the spirit of the deceased as its vehicle or guide in its journey to the solar world. This is strongly suggested by the vital part which the peacock played as evident in the paintings on the burial jars.

in an urn in this inflexed condition (Fig. 9). According to him, "the reasons for not exposing the babies may have originated in the fact that by exposure there was a fair chance of the whole body being carried away by birds and beasts of prey, and in that case no part or bone would have been left for burial in urn."

It is interesting to note that all the above burial pots containing babies in embryonic position were plain and undecorated with paintings generally found on the urns containing skeletal remains of adults. That might have been due to the fact that the Indian people presum. ably believed that the spirit of the dead baby did not have to undergo ordeals of a long and arduous journey to the world beyond the grave like that of an adult. Its dead body was placed in a plain unembellished pot, wrapped in a piece of cloth in embryonic position. The idea underlying the practice perhaps was the belief that after death it returned to the womb of the Mother Earth and, being untainted by worldly sins, for it there was neither hell nor suffering to which the adults were subjected.

The Cemetery H area is bisected by a modern irrigation channel. Mostly the burial jars lay disposed in small lots forming distinct groups. Each group was given a separate number preceded by the letter H, denoting Cemetry H, and individual pots comprising the group were distinguished from each other by the addition of small letters *a*, *b*, *c* etc. Mr. Vats has described in his monograph on Harappa the burial jars groupwise in full detail and the reader interested in details is advised to refer to that volume.[1] Keeping in view the limitations of this work the writer has confined himself to the description of only important features which have direct bearing on the subject.

Earth-Burials of Stratum II

Directly underneath the first stratum of jar-burials described above, and extending from 3 to 6 ft. below the surface, were unearthed

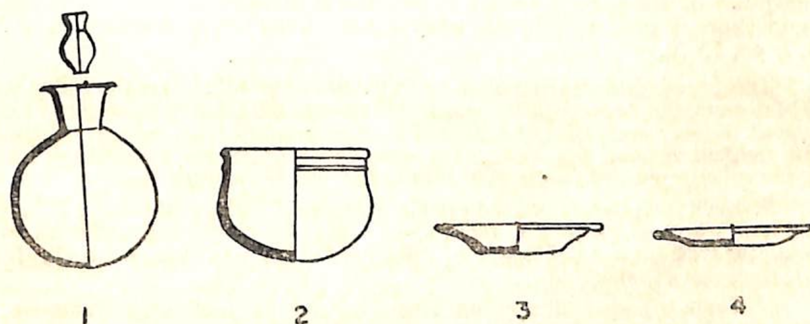


Fig. 10.

about sixteen earth-burials of which thirteen were more or less com-

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I, pp. 203—235.

plete (Fig. 2) and the rest fragmentary.[1] In most of them the dead bodies were orientated from north-east to south-west, but three skeletons were laid to rest from east to west, whereas burial No. H 695 was the only instance which lay from west to east. In three cases bodies lay promiscuously in other directions. Quite a good number of them lay sidewise with inflexed or extended legs, while one rested supine.[2] In good many instances the arms were bent and the hands were brought up before the face. Yet in others the forearms crossed each other at the abdominal region. A noteworthy feature of these earth-burials was that most of them were furnished with a number of funeral pottery. A typical group of it generally comprised a cocoanut-shaped long-necked water-jar (*kalasa*)[3] often covered with a small flask (Fig. 10/1), and offerings's dish[4], (Fig. 11/5), shallow platters (Fig. 11/16), plates-on-stand (Fig. 11/8), flat covers[5] and pear-shaped flasks. (Fig. 11/1-4)[6]

---

1. The following earth-burials were brought to light in the Eastern Section of the Cemetery H :—

H 710, H 695, H 698, H 696, H 697, H 485, H 488, H 636, H 502, H 501, H 484, H 486, H 88, H 184, H 307 and H 306.

The following fractional earth-burials came to light in the Western Section of the Cemetery H :—

H 701, H 699, H 700, H 707, H 703, H 704 and H 706.

2. Prehistoric Sumerian graves closely resemble those of pre-Dynastic ,gyptian. In these graves the bodies were laid on their sides in crouching position with a beaker or drinking cup beside the right hand, while other pottery was placed near the head. (*Mackenzie*)

3. Most of the *kalasas* were found to contain crystalline gyspsum deposits at the bottom, showing that the vessel was used as a water-jar, originally placed full of water in the grave. In certain cases small flasks were found covering the mouths of the *kalasas*, perhaps placed there in the belief that they formed a convenient drinking vessel for the dead man who needed drink in the grave. (Fig. 10/1)

4. Stout offerings' dishes with horizontal ribbings on the base, which formed part of the grave furniture in Stratum II, have their analogues in the pre-Sargonic burials unearthed by Langdon at Kish. Langdon, S., *Excavations at Kish*, Vol. I, pp. 75-76.

This parallelism clearly points to Dynastic contacts between the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia. According to Langdon they were intended as food-plates for the deceased. Nearly every dish at Kish had four holes at the base, which he thought to be ventilation holes for cooling the stem which otherwise would have become very hot on account of live charcoal kept in the hollow stem for keeping it warm.

5. Each flat cover is pierced with a couple of holes at the rim, perhaps for fixing it on with a string, to the mouth of the large jar. They are also painted on the convex side with the animal, plant or other motifs, such as deer, peacock, fishes, birds, trees, leaves, stars, etc.....

6. There is a good deal of similarity between the prehistoric Sumerian, the pre-dynastic Egyptian and the Harappa burials. Referring to earth-burial No. H 696 Mr. Vats says that the water-pots accompanying it were painted with rows of conventional leaves (?) alternating with a winged figure of 8 (Vats, II, Pl. LXIII, 6). What he takes to be a winged figure of 8 is in fact a V-shaped trough containing a pair of small ovals. Similarly in connection with burials Nos. H 703 (Pl. LXIII, 8) and H 706 (Pl. LXIII, 4) also he erroneously mentions winged figure of 8.

Along with six or seven earth-burials (Nos. H 488, H 502, H 501, H 484, H 88, H 184 and H 307) were noticed the bones of sacrificed animals[1]. In one case they were found by the side of, while in another in the hand of, the dead person[2]. Of these burials H 698 needs particular attention. It was the skeleton of an adult male stretched at full length from west to east—an orientation rare among

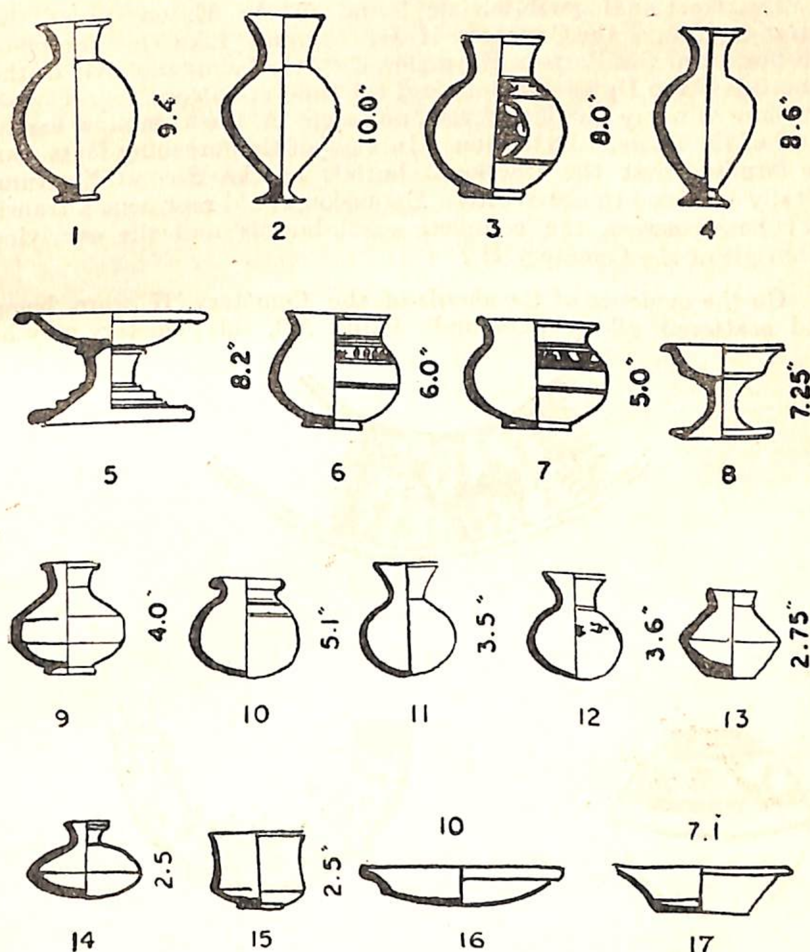


Fig. 11.

these burials. The head rested on the left cheek and the hands crossed each other over the right side of the pelvis with the left hand placed over the right. To the left close to the body, extending from the thorax down to the knees, lay the bones of a sacrificed ruminant,

1. Sacrifice of a goat is alluded to in the Rigveda (X, 16, 4). Agni is asked to consume only the goat that was slaughtered and laid limb by limb on the corpse.

2. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I, p. 221.

a sheep or a goat. Some of the animal's rib bones were noticed in the dead man's hands.

Apart from complete earth-burials a number of fractional ones were also disinterred in the Cemetery H area. The pottery accompanying them was of slightly modified forms.

The fractional earth-burials found in the Extension of the Western Section of the Cemetery H were seven. Like the complete earth-burials of the Eastern Extension they lay below the level of the pot-burials of the Upper Stratum and the funeral pottery found with them showed many modified forms, not seen in the complete earth-burials of the Eastern Extension. In view of the foregoing facts can it be surmised that the fractional burials of the Second Stratum, generally confined to the Western Extension, could represent a transitional phase between the complete earth-burials and the overlying pot-burials of the Cemetery H ?

On the evidence of the sherds of the Cemetery H ware being found scattered all over mounds F and AB, this cemetery may be

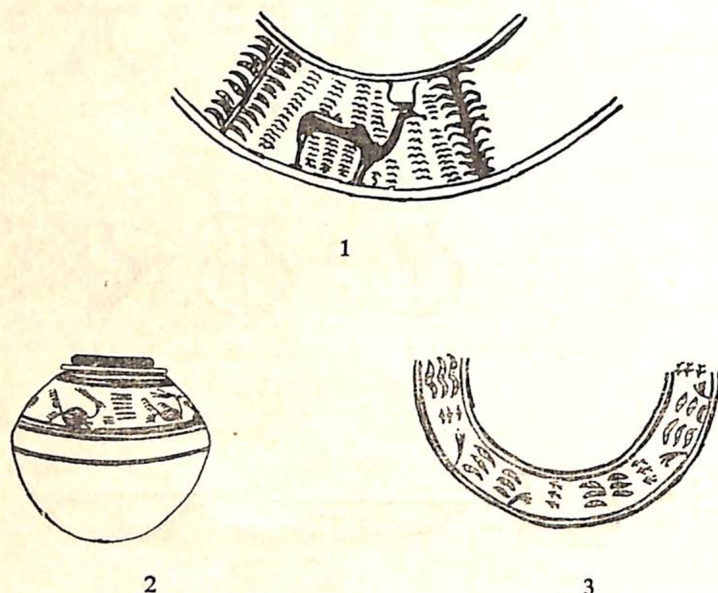


Fig. 12.

assigned to the latest period of the Indus Civilization as it manifested itself at Harappa after Mohenjo-daro had ceased to exist. Its authors about whose racial affinities nothing can be said with certainty at present are supposed to have appeared on the scene in the decadent phase of the early Harappa culture. Their peculiar way of disposal of the dead with its typical concomitant pottery, shows comparisons as well as contrasts with the funeral practices of the contemporary people of Baluchistan and Iran. The complete and fractional burials

and the pottery found at Nal and Shahi Tump in Baluchistan and at Musyan in Western Persia furnish close parallels in certain respects between those sites and the Cemetery H at Harappa. But for lack of adequate data it is difficult to say at present as to what racial and cultural connections those buried in the Cemetery H had with their contemporaries in those countries. A large number of burial pottery from the two strata in Cemetery H is painted in black on a lustrous deep red ground with a variety of naturalistic and geometric designs. The former includes the peacock, goat, bull, fish, birds, trees, plants, etc., while the latter show zigzags, chevron, chess-board, trellis, rayed orbs, stars, etc.[1]

1. According to Mr. Vats the stars and rayed orbs may stand for heaven and the sun ; the wavy lines, triangles or fishes for water ; leaves, plants and trees for vegetation in general, and the flying birds may signify the aerial region through which the soul went to the realms beyond.

2

Cemetery H

Paintings on Burial-Urns of Stratum I

The following of the burial-jars unearthed in the upper stratum of Cemetery H were particularly noteworthy on account of their exceptionally interesting paintings :—

Jar No. H 206 b

This is an ellipsoid jar painted round the shoulder with two almost identical burial scenes (Fig. 13)[1]. Each of them shows a standing therianthropic figure looking right hand side. Its beaked head



Fig. 13.

and arms terminating in talons are those of a peacock and the rest of the body is apparently human.[2] The long hair on the head represents peacock's crest conventionally shown by means of slanting lines. The forearms are stretched out and in each talon-like hand he is securing a bovine animal by means of a cord, one end of which is tied to the animal's neck while the other passes under his feet. Along

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXII, 1*a* and 1*b*.

2. Mr. Vats says, "This creature is human but for the beak and wavy lines rising from the head."

The creature is definitely half peacock and half human. The head and arms are those of the peacock, but the rest of the body is human. This explains the shaggy arms and the talon-like hands. The wavy lines rising from his head are nothing but peacock's crest treated rather stylistically. The *Baudhayana-Dharma-Sutra* (II, 14, 9, and 10) enjoins that the *bali* (food and drink) be offered to the Fathers (*Pitris*) on the ground that in the form of birds the Fathers go about.

with the rope he is also holding a bow and arrow in his left hand. A grinning hound is attacking the left hand animal from behind and biting at its tail. The duplicate scene on the opposite side of the jar (Fig. 13 B), probably depicting the culminating phase, shows on the head of each bovine animal between the horns a tridentate crest, symbolizing as it were the triumphant emergence of the group from the ordeals of the fateful journey. These tridentate crests may be the survival of the 'spray-between-the-horns' design found on the heads of the deities of the earlier age. It may signify the deification or the divine character of the animals.[1] Here the left hand animal is without tail and the intestines, and no longer pursued by the grinning hound. Between the therianthropic figure and the animal is painted on either side a flying peacock.[2] The duplicate scenes referred to above are interrupted by a large bearded goat on one side and two horned peacocks on the other. It is noteworthy that the horns on the heads of the peacocks and on that of the large goat are those of the buffalo. This feature is reminiscent of the buffalo-headed god of the earlier Indus culture. The goat has wide-spreading horns surmounted with tridentate crests, and may be the deified intermediary acting as the path-finder or the guide of the deceased in his or her journey to the unknown world.[3]

It may be presumed that the therianthropic figure standing between the animals represents the subtle body or *sukshma sarira* of the dead person, and that the latter are his guides. Incidentally an allu-

---

1. While referring to the trident-like device on the horns of the extraordinary large goat on jar No. H 206 *b*, Mr. Vats remarks :

"The trident is associated with Siva, whose prototype has been found at Mohenjodaro, and with other deities, as well as the horns, were regarded as emblems of divinity by the Indus people."

The real motif on the head of the so-called prototype of Siva, who in fact is a buffalo-headed composite god, is composed of animal horns with the miniature celestial tree rising in the centre. The trident-shaped crests of the horns of the large goat are in fact stylized forms of the triple linked *pipal* leaves, which motif is very common on the Cemetery H pottery. It will, therefore, be more reasonable to describe the so-called 'trident-crests' as 'linked triple *pipal* leaf crests' or simply '*pipal*-leaf-crests.'

2. Mr. Vats thinks that the two small peacocks hopping about in the space between the composite being (*Preta*) and the bulls are presumably the same as those seen behind the hound. They may as well be different birds as they are not shown with buffalo horns on their heads like the latter.

3. It is worth remarking that the Vedic god Pushan, like Yama, played a prominent part in regulating the destiny of the mortals in life after death. He is called *Asura* in the Vedas. He conducts the dead on the far path of the Fathers and leads his worshippers thither in safety showing them the way. Beasts were allowed to him in sacrifice and he, like Rudra, also receives the epithet of *Pasupati*. He is a guide on roads for those who lose their way.

Pushan's goat conducts the sacrificial horse. His familiarity with steep path is perhaps due to the notion that his car is drawn by the sure-footed goat. The sacrificed goat which precedes and announces the deceased to the fathers, passes through a gulf of thick darkness before reaching the third vault of heaven. (*Ath. Veda*, IX, 5,1) (*Macdonell*)

sion may here be made to the Vedic Aryans of slaughtering *Anustarani* cow at the time of cremating the dead person, and covering his or her head and face with the marrow of the sacrificed animal. This was to act as a balm to mitigate the fury of the Fire God (*Kravyada*) who was also invoked to be kind to the deceased and to transport him gently to the higher regions by slow consumption. Further the entrails of the animal were placed in the hands of the dead as food for Yama's dog. It is interesting to find in the pictorial representations on this jar that in the second scene the dog and the entrails of the animal are both missing as if the canine intruder has run away with its allotted share. It is also noteworthy that in the relevant Vedic text quoted in the footnote below[1] the she-goat is also prescribed as a substitute for the *Anustarani* cow.[2] Reference may also be made to the later practice among the post-Vedic Aryans of giving away *Vaitarani* cow as gift to a priest by the dying man.[3] The analogy shown above can at best indicate that some of the earlier funeral traditions of the Indus people were inherited by the Vedic Aryans in course of time during their contact with the indigenous people of India. The rest of the available space between the principal figures is occupied by the ancillary motifs like stars, rows of birds, leaves, etc.

---

1. अनुस्तरण्या वपा-मुच्छिद्य शिरोमुखं प्रच्छादयेत्, अग्ने-र्वर्म परि गाभि-र्व्ययस्व (ऋग्वेद, १, १६, ७)

अनुस्तरणीं गःमजां वैकवर्णां कृष्णामेके सव्ये बाहौ बध्वा ऽनुसङ्कालयन्ति । पितृभ्यो वाऽनुस्तरणी । (आश्व० गृ० सू० ४, ३)

सेयं गौः स्तृतं दीक्षित-मनुस्तृतत्वा-द्विसितत्वाच्चानुस्तरणीत्युच्यते (सायणः)

It would be interesting to note here that when the dead body of Ravana was to be cremated after he fell in his fight against Rama an *Anustarani* cow was killed and her marrow (*vapa*) placed on his mouth.

Ramayana, *Yuddhakanda*, 114, 112-117.

2. In the second scene there is no goat. By the dead man's entry into the Abode of Bliss, which was *par excellence* the Solar World, the mission of the goat of guiding the spirit across the mighty gulf of darkness, was probably over and therefore there was no need of including it in the second part of the scene.

3. According to Hillebrandt it was the duty of the kinsmen to provide their deceased relative with the means of crossing the river or the sea that interrupted the approach to the Land of Bliss. Mr. Vats thinks that the wavy lines along the upper and lower ends of the frieze enclosing the funeral scene probably represented the rippled surface of the waters of the dreadful stream of the Hades, the prototype of the later *Vaitarani*. In support he points out that the feet of the bulls, the goat and of the spirit (*Preta*) are shown invisible as if immersed in water. He further says that the feet of the pursuing hound are visible because the attack is depicted in the Hades and not in the stream. The whole scene is a single unitary composition. It is difficult to imagine that while the rest of it took place in the mid-stream a part of it occurred somewhere outside the stream in the waterless tract of the Hades. The possibility is that the wavy lines were intended to serve as a decorative border or fringe of the band.

Jar No. H 206 a[1]

This jar is painted round the shoulder with a broad band containing three flying peacocks, each carrying to the higher spheres a therianthropic figure placed horizontally in its body along with heart-shaped motifs in the vacant space.[2] The composition of the inset human figure shows a striking resemblance to the kindred figures on jar No. H 206 *b* just described. There is little doubt that this figure also symbolizes the spirit of the deceased whose dismembered bones formed the contents of the jar. The vacant space between the peacocks is filled with groups of stars.



Fig. 14.

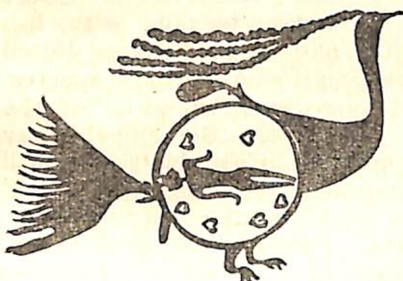


Fig. 15.

Jar No. H 245 b[3]

It is painted with peacock-headed U-shaped troughs alternated by stars (Fig. 16). The peacock heads are again surmounted with U-shaped horns inside which are sprays of linked *pipal* leaves. Within each trough there is inset what appears to be a column of leaves or fishes.[4]

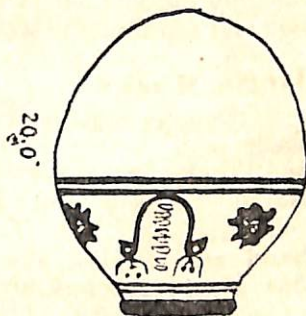


Fig. 16.

Jar No. H 245 a

This is an ellipsoin jar painted round the shoulder with two highly stylized peacocks in flight, surrounded by stars (Fig 17).[5] The tail and the neck of each peacock are shown foliated and each foliation has a dot in the centre. Between the peacocks are two bowl-shaped panels

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXII, 2.

2. It is difficult to give a satisfactory explanation of these heart-shaped symbols. They are found very frequently among the paintings on the Indus pottery. It may, however, be suggested that it carried the idea of procreation, as indicated by a painting on a *Mehi sherd* where heart-symbol is shown as genitals of the bull.
(Cf. *Memoir of Arch. Survey of India*, No. 43, by Stein)

3. Vats, M.S., *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. LXII, 4.

4. With reference to this jar Mr. Vats says "On it the decoration consists of peacock's heads joined U-wise, alternating with rayed orbs or stars. Crowning the peacock-heads are pairs of sacred horns with twin leaves set in between."

Presumably the main objects painted on this jar are peacock-headed troughs, each containing a symbolically represented shoal of fish. Peacock heads are shown horned and inside each pair of horns is a crest of twin *pipal* leaves.

5. Vats, M.S., *Ibid.*, Vol. II, LXII, 3.

each showing a rayed orb and a row of fishes enclosed by triple slanting wavy lines. Inside one of the rayed orbs are five hachured leaves, while the second orb is filled with numerous pear-shaped dotted designs. Each of the orbs perhaps represents a celestial sphere pulsating with varied life. The triple wavy lines signify perennial streams of clear, sweet water teeming with fish and the pear-shaped dotted designs perhaps denote the animate creation inhabiting those spheres. Here is, then, presumably the Land of Bliss where the spirits of the dead arrived for eternal repose. The dot within the globule may signify the seed or the germ of life lying latent in the body. It will also be seen that each of the stars surrounding the peacock is relieved by a dotted pear-shaped object which may likewise represent dormant souls residing the celestial spheres. Similarly the pear-shaped foliations clinging to the neck and the tail of peacock may also mean so many souls of the dead being transported to the Land of Bliss. The above interpretation is, no doubt, conjectural, but appears to be the only rational one in the context considering the nature of the jars and the funeral character of their contents.



Fig. 17.

Jar No. H 246 e

This jar is painted round the shoulder with a goat, trees and birds in the upper tier and stars-in-crescent and birds in the lower (Fig. 18).[1] The right hand goat in the illustration has a trident crest formed of linked *pipal* leaves, between its horns—a mark of its divine nature.



Fig. 18

Jar No. H 154, a

This is an ellipsoid jar painted round the shoulder with three long-horned humped quadrupeds, apparently bulls, and fishes and

1. Speaking of this species of goat Mr. Vats says "It might as well be deer but for the horns which resemble those of a markhor (*capra falconeri*). Cf. Lydekkar, *The Game Animals of India, Burma, Malaya and Tibet* (1924), p. 123, fig 17, and p. 125, fig. 18. The *markhor* is likely to have been invested with sanctity owing to its reported character as a snake-eater. I believe this very animal is depicted in the heads on the vases illustrated in Pl. LXIII, 9; Pl. LVIII, c, 6 and Pl. LXVI, 59. And perhaps, too, the pairs of horn above the peacock heads in Pl. LXII, 4, and the independent motif evolved from them as seen in Pl. LXII, 10, 12 etc. also represent the same animal."

stars (fig. 19)[1]. Each one of the quadrupeds has flat-bottomed U-shaped horns and a *pipal* leaf emerging from its hump. The shoals of fish filling the vacant space are shown with dotted interiors, which may again mean so many souls or latent germs of life. The stars are also shown with hachured interiors.



Fig. 19.

Jars Nos. H 148 a, H 150 and No. 15

These jars are painted with peacocks and other motifs. Jar No. H 148 *a* has only crude peacocks[2] with cross-hatched bodies alternated by columns of V-shaped motifs, each containing a dotted oval in the centre as shown in fig. 20.[3] This device, as explained below, is only an abridged form of various types of troughs or water tanks containing live fish. The third jar shows stylized peacocks enclosed by a slanting wavy line on either side terminating in a star at the upper end (fig. 21).[4] These wavy lines seem to make trough-like compartments alternated with a column of four linked *pipal* leaves. Each terminal star at the upper end of the wavy line may possibly be the shooting rays of the stars signifying that the peacock is flying in the heavenly region.



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.

There are a few more pottery pieces on which we have solar orbs. They include Nos. H 706 *a*, H 165 *a* and H 231 *b*. Of them the first vessel. a flask, shows like the medium sized vase No. H 706 *a*, two concentric bands of painting round the shoulder.[5] In the

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXII, 5.

2. *Ibid*., Pl. LXII, 8.

3. Describing the jar No. H 148 *a* Mr. Vats says—

"Above the shoulders it is decorated with five flying peacocks alternating with rows of birds ?"

They are not rows of flying birds but V-shaped troughs, each containing a dotted oval. Its lid is painted with four horn-shaped troughs containing live fish (see Pl. LXII, 8 and 10)

4. Vats, M.S., *Ibid*., Pl. LXII, 15.

5. *Ibid*., Pl. LXIII, 4.

inner band V-shaped pairs of wavy lines alternate by similar but smaller motifs, containing a column of dotted ovals. The outer circle shows solar orbs. The significance of the painting is very much similar to the one on the twin jars just described. The second jar, No. H 165*a*, is decorated with groups of stars alternating with solar orbs from which a stream of rays is shooting up (fig. 22)[1]. The rays are flanked by *pipal* leaves on either side.

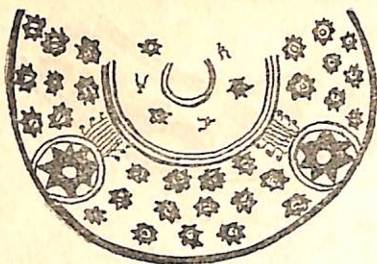


Fig 22.

The third jar No. H 231 (fig.23)[2] shows two concentric bands of painting round the shoulder. In the inner band are groups of dotted globules enclosed by sets of slanting lines forming troughs. In the outer band are circumscribed solar orbs alternated by columns of dotted globules. Each dotted globule, possibly representing the spirit of the dead, appears resting in the sunny region of the celestial world in the cool retreats watered by eternal streams and lit by heavenly luminaries.

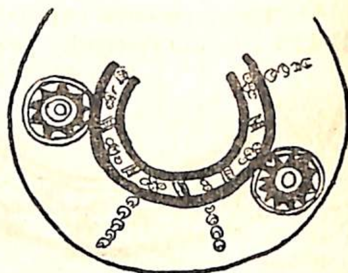


Fig. 23.

On a number of burial jars are portrayed what appear to be trough-shaped containers or water-tanks inside which are rows of fish, pear-shaped dotted globules, leaves, etc. Broadly speaking, these trough-like vessels are either V-shaped with angular bottom or U-shaped with rounded base. The troughs of the latter type painted on jar No. H 245 are peacock-headed (fig. 24/1)[3], each head being provided with flat-bottomed U-shaped bulls' horns, containing a crest of linked *pipal* leaves. Similar troughs are also seen on a lid (fig. 24/4)[4] and H 622 (fig. 24, 3)[5] where the tanks are formed by incurving leaves. On jar No. H 16 (fig. 24, 6)[6] where each side of the trough is formed by out-curving leaves and inside it is a column of four fishes. Other motifs on this last-mentioned jar are rows of flying birds and linked *pipal* leaves. The V-shaped troughs occur more frequently on the Cemetery H I ware and exhibit a variety of forms. Sometimes their flanking sides are made of single or multiple wavy lines, once or twice of three-forked branches (fig. 24, 5)[7], and sometimes of leaves

1. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 10.
2. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 14.
3. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXII, 4
4. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXII, 10
5. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 7
6. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 16
7. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXII, 18

(fig. 24, 2)[1]. Inside these angular troughs are set fishes, dotted circles, stars and peacocks.

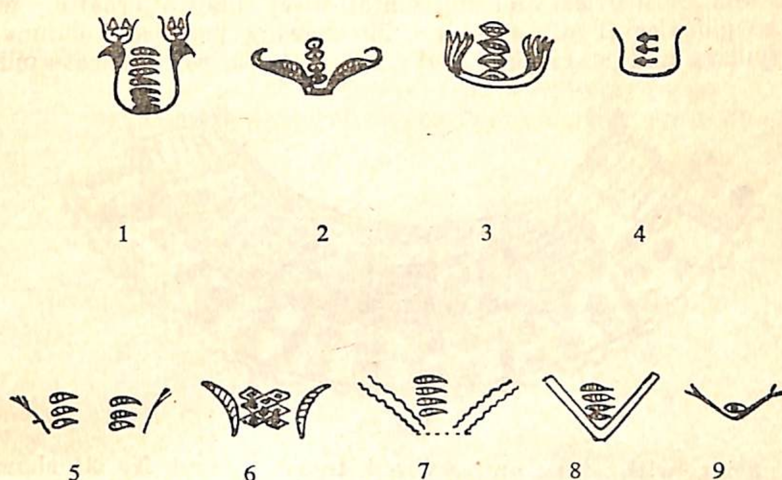


Fig. 24.

On a number of burial-jars are to be seen motifs which appear to signify some biological species. Such are the jars Nos. H 346*b*

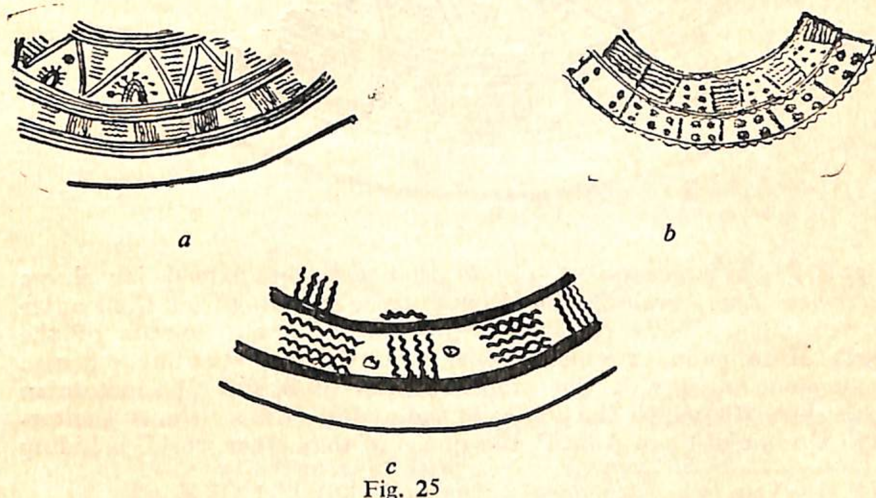


Fig. 25

(fig. 25*a*)[2] which shows rows of caterpillars and foliated arches separated

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXII, 7
2. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 21.

by columns of dotted globules[1]; No. 18 with columns of caterpillars, rows of flying birds, stylized trees, stars etc.[2]; No. 17 with sets of vertical and horizontal wavy lines alternating with dotted globules (fig. 25 *c*),[3] No. 20 showing panelled columns of caterpillars and stars (fig. 26)[4]; No. 19 with rows of caterpillars

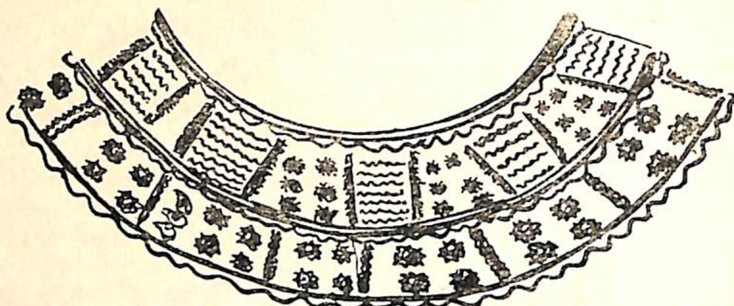


Fig. 26.

alternating with stars and stylized trees[5] ; and No. 21 showing in the upper tier chevron pattern enclosing in its convolutions columns of caterpillars and foliated arches and in the lower tier only rows of caterpillars bounded by sets of vertical wavy lines

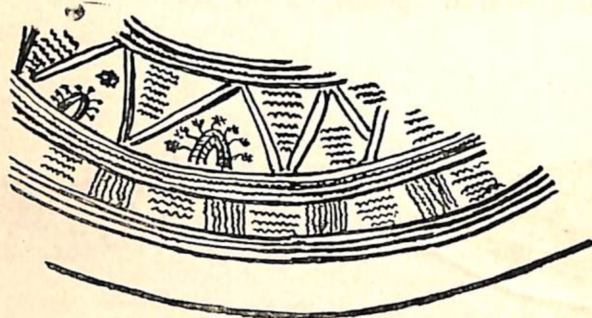


Fig. 27.

(fig. 27)[6]. It is interesting to note that this last-named jar shows amongst others arch-like motifs with trees emerging from their outer curves. This motif recalls the *pipal*-arch (*torana*) motifs of the early Harappa culture under which a deity is seen standing. It also bears some analogy to the arched motifs of a few Mesopotamian seals beneath which the deities of the underworld are shown sheltering. On one of them Allatu[7], the queen of the nether world, is hiding

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXII. 9.
2. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 18
3. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 17
4. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 20.
5. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 19.
6. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 21.
7. Sastri, K.N., *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, Pl. III, 7.

herself beneath an arched coverlet to escape the fury of Marduk's attack. As this motif occurs on a burial-urn it is possible that it had some reference to the underworld deities. Jar No. 15 shows two rectangular chequered columns with a group of stars in between (fig. 28).[1] On either side of this column, which may represent some heavenly mansion, are attached serpentine or hook-like projections.



Fig. 28.

Jar No. 7435 e

Next to Jar No. H 206*b* in respect of pictorial representation comes jar No. 7435 *e* (fig. 29)[2], which shows four composite figures alternating with flying peacocks and stars painted round its shoulder. The composite figures are partly bull and partly peacock. The whole body of this syncretic creature is bovine save for the head which is replaced by the forepart of the peacock. The legs of the peacock cover the neck of the bull as shown in figure 29 and the most interesting feature of this composition is that in two cases the spirit of the dead person is shown riding the composite bull.[3] The scene proceeds as usual from left to right. At the extreme left end is the composite bull walking to right and next to it is a flying peacock. The third figure is again the same strange bull but with the difference that here he is ridden over by the spirit who itself is a composite



Fig. 29.

being, human in the lower, but peacock in the upper part. The composite figure again shows the same bull, but with the therianthropic

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXIII, 15
2. *Ibid*, Pl. LXII, 13.
3. While describing the hybrid bull on Jar No. 7435*e* Mr. Vats says :

"The animals are males, seemingly bulls with bird-like heads and a curious device around the neck, etc."

In fact the bulls are peacock-headed and what Mr. Vats takes to be 'a curious device around the neck of the animal' are the shaggy legs of the peacock. Similarly the spirit of the dead (*Preta*) on Jars Nos. H 206*a* and H 206*b* has also peacock's head and arms.

figure this time riding right on its neck in stead of on the back. In the fourth bull the overriding spirit appears to have completely merged itself in the hybrid bull and become a part and parcel of its mount. There is practically no difference between the first and the fourth bull except that in the latter a star is emerging from the back of the animal, probably the spirit is holding the star in its talon-like hands by means of a thin cord or tendril. It is to be noted that a similar star is issuing from the backs of the third bull and the fourth peacock at the extreme right end. The rest of the available space is occupied by groups of stars and half ovals.[1]

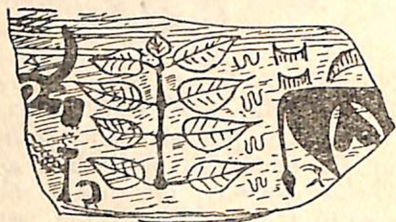


Fig. 29A.

1. The group of burial urns, No. 7435, comprised seven jars (*a* to *g*). Whilst each one of the other six jars of the group contained fragmentary skulls, long bones and tiny pieces of babies' bones, curiously enough Jar No. 7435 *e*, the largest of the group decorated with an elaborate funeral scene, was found without human remains.

3

Cemetery H (contd.)

Paintings on Pottery From Stratum II

Paintings on Pottery Covers

Equally interesting are the paintings on the convex surface of the flat covers from Stratum II of the Cemetery H illustrated in

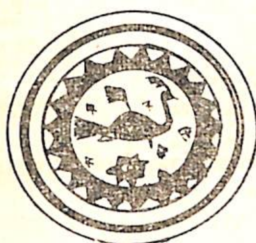


Fig. 30.



Fig. 31.

Plate LXIV of Mr. Vats's monograph on Harappa. They exhibit a rich variety of designs including animals, plants, leafy motifs etc. Among the animal designs may be mentioned the goat with long wavy horns and the peacock. The subsidiary motifs filling the empty space include fishes, stars, wavy lines, linked *pipal* leaves and so on. The central scenes are circumscribed either by rayed orbs, or simple concentric circles. The geometric forms consist of rayed orbs, stars, tassels, etc., and the plant motifs are represented by the *pipal* and the date palm as well as linked *pipal* leaves

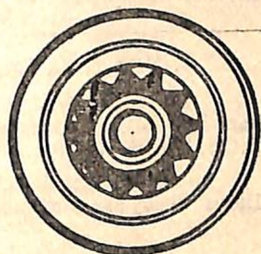


Fig. 32.

in a variety of combinations. Especially noteworthy are the following p aintings :—



Fig. 33.

Cover No. 11

Cover No. 11 shows within a circumscribed orb two adjacent columns each composed of four birds perched on each other's backs and looking in opposite directions (Fig. 33)[1]. The motif is unique inasmuch as it is the only example of its kind in the Indus Valley and its affinities are traceable outside India.[2] This is undoubtedly an importation from the West, having no antecedent either in Mohenjo-daro or Harappa.

Cover No. 14[3]

It shows inside a circumscribed orb a curious composite device (Fig. 34). At the base are three stylized fishes in a row surmounted by four *pipal* leaves crowned by bull-heads. On either side of the row of fishes is a pair of miniature fishes.



Fig. 34.

Cover No. 15[4]

It shows within a circumscribed rayed orb a tassel-like object hanging from above and flanked on either side by vertical zigzag lines. This so-called tassel design is also found on sherds Nos. 91 and 92.

Cover No. 16[5]

It has in the centre a double horizontal band bounded by wavy lines. On either side of it is a shoal of fish rather crudely drawn.[4] The central motif bounded by wavy lines perhaps represents a river abounding in fish.

---

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXIV.

2. An exactly similar motif consisting of five birds perched on each other's back is found on a painted vessel from Susa-Obeid Period (first half of the 4th mill. B.C.), (*Cf.* B. Hrozny, *Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete*, p. 27)

According to F. S. Starr many motifs on the painted pottery from the Indus Valley are comparable to those from Halaf and Susa of the 4th mill. B.C.

Starr, R.F.S., *Indus Valley Painted Pottery.*

3. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXIV.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. LXIV, 15

5. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIV, 16

Covers Nos. 17 and 18[1]

Each of these two covers portrays a stylized *pipal* tree with bipinnate leaves. The leaves shown on cover No. 18 are clearly naturalistic (fig. 35), but those on No. 17 are conventionalized and somewhat elongated in shape. In one case the tree is flanked by rows of birds and in the other by linked *pipal* leaves.

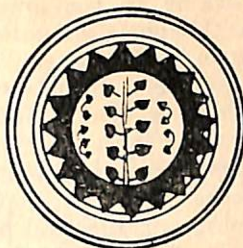


Fig. 35.

Covers Nos. 19, 20, 22 and 24

All of them show rows of *pipal* leaves linked together by looped devices. They are grouped together in rows of three to six, and in two cases have the ancillary motifs of pear-shaped dotted globules and rows of birds respectively.[2]

Cover No. 23

This lid depicts a tall tree of the palm variety (fig. 36)[3]. The trunk of the tree is made up of four cross-hatched vertical lines from the sides of which issue tufts of leaves alternately pointing upwards and downwards. The uprights of the cross-hatched column appear to have spiked tops, while at the bottom the first pair of quadruple leaves appears emerging from the ground rather than from the side of the multiple trunk. This feature reminds of the trough-like device on Jar No. 16 (fig. 24, 3)[4], containing four fishes arranged in a single column. The sides of the trough are comprised by similar quadruple leaves and this analogy shows beyond doubt that they are not quadruple horns, as described by Mr. Vats, but leaves of the celestial tree figuring on cover No. 23.



Fig. 36.

Stray Potsherds of Cemetery H Type

Among the large number of stray potsherds typical of the Cemetery H ceramic, which were excavated from the habitation sites at Harappa, the following are important as they throw additional light on the beliefs of the authors of the Cemetery H and their relationship with the earlier population, the originators of the Indus Valley Civilization.

1. Vats, M.S., *Exacavations at Harappa*, Pl. LXIV, 17, 18
2. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIV, 19, 20, 22 and 24
3. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIV, 23
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. LXIII, 16

Sherd No. 2 (Pl. LXV)

Sherd No. 2 (fig. 37)[1] shows the hind quarters of an animal, most probably a goat, surrounded by stars with the distinctive feature that a row of four fishes are sticking to the lower part of its body as though sucking its blood or feasting upon its flesh. A similar representation is also observable on sherd No. 5 (Pl. LXV) where a single fish can still be seen sticking to the back of a bovine animal surviving only in its hind part. The scene perhaps depicts the pisciform spirits of the dead persons feasting upon flesh of the bull that was sacrificed as part of the burial ritual.

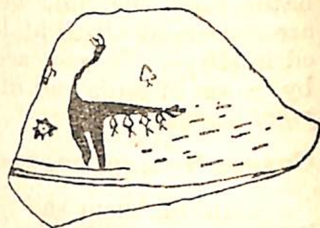


Fig. 37.

Sherds Nos. 3 and 4

These marginally noted sherds (fig. 38)[2] show the middle part of a bovine animal each with a hooked tuft of hair representing its hump. From the hump of the animal on sherd No. 3 rises a plant, apparently a lotus, whose one stalk terminates in what looks like an oval bud. More interesting than this is a kindred representation on sherd No. 13 (fig. 39)[3] showing again the middle portion of a bovine animal. Here also a lotus plant is issuing from the animal's hump. The two lateral stalks of the plant are shorter, and, curving outward, they abruptly end in cup-like terminals which are obviously the seed-vessels of the lotus plant. The two longer stalks in the centre curve upward and are being held by the human being standing on the back of the animal. Another sherd, No. 12, shows the hump of the animal on which a therianthropic figure, partly human and partly peacock, with arms represented by the shaggy legs of a peacock, is standing (Fig. 64)[4]. These two sherds illustrate the way in which the spirit of the dead (*Preta*) riding on the back of the animal journeyed to the unknown world and most probably the lotus plant, being regarded as the sun-plant, symbolically indicated the Solar World as the destination of the spirit's journey.[5] At its left end two stalks are issuing forth from the hump but end abruptly on account of fracture in the sherd.



Fig. 38.

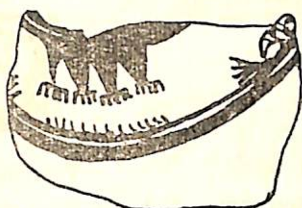


Fig. 39.

---

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXV, 2.
2. *Ibid.*, LXV, 3, 4.
3. *Ibid.*, Pl. XV, 13.
4. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXV, 12
5. See also p. 102.

Sherds Nos. 23 and 24 (Figs. 40, 41)[1]; each despicts a curious wedge-shaped motif consisting of four triangles joined at the base and pointing downwards with their apexes ending in comb-like adjuncts. This is a rare motif unknown to the Indus pottery of the



F g. 40.



Fig. 41.

early period and must have found its way from the west. Occurring as it does on the burial pottery, it had no doubt some funeral significance. It is also found on sherd No. 80[2].

Sherd No. 32 (Fig. 42)[3] shows stars, ladder and date palm tree designs. The last-named design is again an importation and points to its western origin.

Sherd No. 39[4] shows a partly preserved column with leaves emerging from its sides. The column is identical in form with the one already noticed on Jar No. 15 (Fig. 28) with the sole difference that in this case it has, in place of hook designs, simple leaves issuing from its sides. It is possible that the so-called hook design on the latter may also be some variety of leaves.



Fig. 42.

Sherd No. 46 (Fig. 43)[5] shows a partly preserved humped bull with ex-curving horns standing in front of a human figure holding a sword or club ready to smite the animal. Perhaps the human figure is therianthropic like those found on burial Jars H 206*a* and *b* as vaguely indicated by the shaggy arms and talon-like hands. Or, it may represent a scene of bull sacrifice as part of the funeral ritual accompanying the death of a person. Another sherd. No. 49, shows the forepart of a



Fig. 43.

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXV, 23, 24
2. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXVI, 80.
3. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXV, 32.
4. *Ibid.*, Pl LXV, 39.
5. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXVI, 46.

bull with out-curving horns like the one on sherd 46 (fig. 44).

There are, however, a few more sherds, No. 53 and 59 (fig. 45)[1], on which the humped bull is represented with in-curving horns.



Fig. 44.



Fig. 45.



Fig. 46.

Obviously these animals represented two distinct bovine species peculiar to different regions. Sherd No. 64 (Fig. 46) shows a peacock with bull's head having in-curving horns. A bull with peacock's head or a peacock with bovine horns found on Cemetery H ware is a combination into a single body of the outstanding qualities of the two animals which were thought essential to help the spirit of the dead in its journey to the unknown world. Some uncommon



(*a*)



(*b*)



(*c*)

Fig. 47.

motifs typical of the Cemetery H ware occur on sherds Nos. 70, 77, 78, 84, 86 and 87 (Fig. 47 *a—c*). They are again rare unfamiliar motifs at Harappa and must have found their way from some other culture province.

Sherd No. 18 (fig. 48)[2], though included among the pottery from the mounds, is undoubtedly typical of Cemetery H ware. It shows a file of four therianthropic figures standing hand-in-hand between two goats. The figures which look like those on burial-urn No. H 206 and other urns, are peacock-headed humans and obviously represent the spirits of the deceased on their way to the world beyond the grave under the benign guidance of the two goats between whom they stand.



Fig. 48.

1. Vats, M. S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXVI, 53, 59.
2. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIX, 18.

Burial Pottery Showing *Pipal* Leaf Motif

Below is given the list of the burial pottery on which figures the *pipal* leaf motif prominently.

Jar No. H 206 b

In the second scene (fig. 13 B) in the space above the bovine animals are twin and triple linked *pipal* leaves. The trident-shaped crests on the horns of the large goat are also triple *pipal* leaves.

Jar No. H 245 b



Fig. 49.

The peacock-headed troughs painted on the jar have linked twin *pipal* leaf crests (figs. 16 and 49).

Jar No. H 154 a

Pipal leaves are shown rising from the humps of the bulls painted on the jar. (fig. 19).

Jar No. H 346 a

Shows linked triple *pipal* leaves alternating with rows of caterpillars. (fig. 50)

Jar No. H 246 b

The horned head of the right hand goat is decked with trident-shaped crest made of linked triple *pipal* leaves. (fig. 18).



Fig. 50.

Jar No. 15

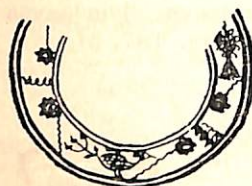


Fig. 51.

The tail of one of the peacocks depicted on this burial-urn is composed of linked twin and triple *pipal* leaves. In the same frieze are also two representations of linked quadruple *pipal* leaves (fig. 51).

Jar No. H 165 a

The streams of beams issuing from two circumscribed rayed orbs are flanked by sprays of *pipal* leaves (fig. 52).

Jar No. 16

On this burial jar occurs among other motifs a linked triple *pipal* leaf design. Here the *pipal* leaves are shown very clearly and realistically (fig. 53).

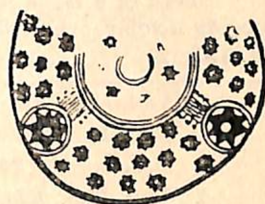


Fig. 52.

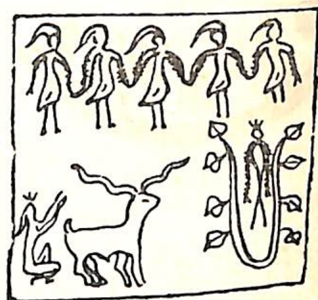
Jar No. 21


Fig. 53.

Inside the bends of the chevron in the upper tier are two arches surmounted by trees or tree branches rising radially. The composition calls to mind the *pipal* arches (*toranas*) under which a god is frequently seen standing on certain Indus seals. (figs. 27, 54 and 172).

Flat Covers Nos. 17 and 18

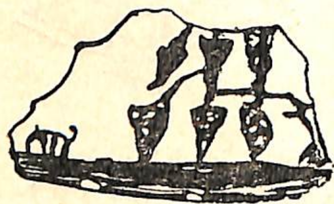
Each of these covers shows a stylized *pipal* tree. Cover No. 18 also shows twin or triple linked *pipal* leaves on either side of the tree. The most noteworthy thing is that the *pipal* tree design is shown enclosed by a circumscribed rayed orb which is obviously a portrayal of the solar disc. (fig. 35).


Fig. 54.

Covers Nos. 4, 19, 20, 22 and 24[1]

Each of the five flat covers shows from two to six linked *pipal* leaves within a circumscribed rayed orb.

Sherd No. 44


Fig. 55.

A sherd of the Cemetery H ware class also shows linked *pipal* leaf designs (fig. 55).[2]

Sherd No. 39

A sherd of the Cemetery H ware type shows a solar orb with rays radiating in the form of *pipal* leaves. The leaves are somewhat stylized[3] (fig. 137, 3).

Sherd No. 49[4]

Sherd of a dish of the household pottery type showing part of a solar orb with rays radiating in the form of *pipal* leaves (fig. 56).


Fig. 56.

Sherd No. 77[5]

Sherd of a large jar of household pottery type showing a solar orb with rays radiating in the form of *pipal* leaves (fig. 137, 2)

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXIV
2. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXV
3. *Ancient India*, No. 3, p. 96, fig. 10.
4. Vats, M.S., *Ibid.*, Pl. LXVIII
5. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXVI

Cemetery H Pottery
(With Solar Orb Motif)

Jar No. H 245 a[1]

Shows two solar orbs, each enclosed by three wavy lines on either side which may represent streams of water. One of the orbs is filled with dotted globules or ovals, while the other shows four leafy designs. Above each orb is a row of several fishes and between the two orbs is a crude peacock and a group of stars. (fig. 57)



Fig. 57.

Jar No. H 706 a[2]

It is painted with two concentric bands. In the outer band are two well-executed circumscribed rayed orbs, while the inner band shows V-shaped designs, two of which are inset with dotted globules.

Jar No. H 165 a

In the broad band painted round its shoulder are delineated amid a galaxy of stars two circumscribed orbs which are emitting streams of light, each flanked by a spray of *pipal* leaves (fig. 52)

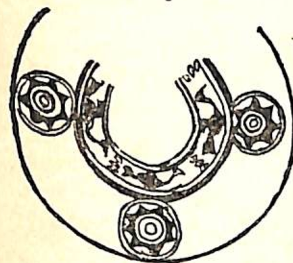


Fig. 58.

Jar No. H 706 a

This jar is painted round the shoulder with two concentric bands. In the outer band are shown three circumscribed rayed orbs, while the inner one is decorated with three flying peacocks alternated by a single column of dotted ovals (fig. 58).

Jar No. H 231 b

It is painted with two concentric bands round the shoulder. The outer band shows two well-executed circumscribed solar orbs alternated with columns of dotted ovals. The inner band has V-shaped troughs containing tiny dotted ovals in groups of four (fig. 59).[3]

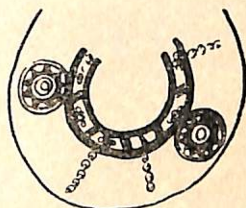


Fig. 59.

Flat Covers[4] **(Pl. LXIV, 1—24, except nos. 3, 16, 17)**

Plate LXIV illustrates twenty four painted flat covers from Stratum II of the Cemetery H. Of them 21 covers are ornamented

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXII, 3
2. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIII, 4
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. LXIII, 14
4. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXIV. 1—24, except nos. 3, 16 and 17.

with rayed solar orbs. Inside the empty space of these orbs are to be seen goats, peacocks, leaves, fishes, *pipal tree* and *pipal* leaf and other motifs. Only one cover (No. 10) shows vividly a well-executed solar orb whose interior is filled with two concentric circles (fig. 32).

Painted Sherds[1]

About nine sherds of flat covers or other vessels of the Cemetery H ware type show well executed solar orbs filled with concentric circles or other motifs.



Fig. 60.

Three sherds, Nos. 48, 51, 54 (Vats, II, Pl. LXVI) also show the same design. On sherd No. 48 a goat or deer is standing to right facing the solar orb (fig. 60) while inside the rayed orb on Nos. 51 and 54 are to be seen the hind parts of two long-horned deer and some other motifs.

1. Vats, M.S. *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXV and LXVI,

4

Conclusions

In the light of the foregoing study in the mode of disposal of the dead and the eschatological beliefs of the Cemetery H folk it has been possible to arrive at certain important conclusions as summarized below :—

Since the paintings occur on burial urns it can safely be postulated that they are not merely decorative in purpose but are intended to carry a deeper significance. Manifestly they mirror current popular beliefs regarding the fate of the deceased after his departure to the world beyond the grave. There can hardly be any doubt that the Cemetery H people believed in the continuity of human life even after death as also in the passage of the soul in diverse forms of animate life and in its ultimate access to the Land of Bliss, where there were running streams teeming with fish, majestic shady trees, eternal sunshine and resplendent aerial regions resonant with singing birds. Here the soul of the deceased resided in eternal peace and happiness. On its way it had to cross a trackless dangerous zone beset with all sorts of trials and tribulations. It had also probably to cross a treacherous river where there were no boats or ferrymen. The journey was long and perilous and there were no provisions on the way. So the living kinsmen and relatives of the deceased had to prepare a way for the dead by providing him with all sorts of things to facilitate his journey to the unknown world.

This belief is well illustrated in the pictorial representation occurring on Jar No. H 206b where the metamorphosed spirit of the dead, standing between two bovine animals, is also accompanied by a large goat and two peacocks, the last mentioned three animals having buffalo's horns on their heads. As evidenced in certain graves, a goat was occasionally sacrificed and buried along with the dead person to act his or her guide in the dangerous journey where the sure-footed goat was obviously the most fitting companion. Sometimes a bovine animal was also sacrificed for the same purpose. This dangerous zone appears to have been guarded by a watch dog which calls to mind the

two hounds of *Yama*[1] that infest the path of the deceased in his journey to the Land of the Fathers (*Pitri-loka*). An almost similar belief existed among the Sumerians and the Egyptians about the inaccessibilty of the Land of Bliss which was supposed to be surrounded by seas and could be reached only with the help of the Face-behind ferryman.[2]

According to the beliefs of the Cemetery H folk, the one essential condition for gaining access to the Land of Bliss was that the spirit of the deceased must be partly transformed into peacock. Without this partial metamorphosis it was impossible to gain access there. The paintings on Jars Nos. H 206*a* and *b* unmistakably show that peacock was the connecting link between the world of mortals and the celestial regions. On Jar No. H 206*a* three peacocks are shown flying in the starry regions carrying the spirit of the dead to the higher spheres and on Jar No. H 206*b* the same bird plays the role of a guide by hopping near about the metamorphosed spirit between the bovine animals. Again on Jar No. 7435*e* we have a graphic representation of the peacock guides which fly about in front of the hybrid bulls ridden over by the spirit in the therianthropic form. Not only is the mount of the dead represented by a full or half peacock, but the spirit itself is invariably shown peacock in the upper and human in the lower part of the body.[3] Evidently the bull and the peacock were associated with the dead person and acted his or her vehicle or guides to the next world. A further corroboration of this view is afforded by the representation on sherds Nos. 12 and 19, referred to above, where peacock-headed human figures are shown standing on the hump of the animal (fig. 39). With this funeral significance it is no wonder that the peacock figures so commonly on the necropolitan pottery from Cemetery H, occurring singly or in association with other ancillary motifs.

There are indications to suggest that the subtle bodies of the dead persons transported to heaven were destined to live there in the form of animals, birds[4], insects, fishes, plants, etc. Consequently, we find among the paintings on these jars the spirits of the dead symbolically represented by rows or columns of fishes or dotted

---

1. The two dogs of Yama are *Karbura* or *Sabala* and *Syama* who guard the passage of *Yamapuri*. In the Vedic literature there is mention of spies (*spasas*) of Varuna. Pushan was regarded as a guide (*prapathya*) on roads.

Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 23 and 173.

2. According to the Egyptian belief the Abode of Bliss lay in an island surrounded by deep dreadful seas where the Blest were carried by a ferryman called 'Face-Behind'. Sometimes they prayed to the divine birds, the falcon of Horus or the Ibis of Thoth, for carrying them over to that land.

3. Peahen (*mayuri*) mentioned in the *Rgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* with reference to the bird's efficacy against poison.

Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*

4. In Mesopotamian mythology the goddess Ishtar is depicted as descending to the dismal Hades where the souls of the dead resided in bird forms. Mackenzie, D.A., *Myths of Babylon and Assyri* , p. 95.

Also see footnote 2 on p. 11 above.

globules, cosily resting in trough-like tanks or vessels of various shapes (fig. 24). In some cases these tanks are round-bottomed like U and sometimes V-shaped with their sides variously comprised by wavy lines (which represent streams of light) or by broad curving leaves or miniature plants.[1] In one case (fig. 24, 1) the troughs are peacock-headed, while in another the walls of the vessels are comprised by four curving leaves, each trough containing a row of fishes (fig. 24/3, 4, 5). To me the small dotted globules or ovals found inside these troughs represent the souls of the deceased in embryonic form. On Jar No. H 245*a* they are seen clinging to the neck and the tail of the peacock that is flying in the aerial region (fig. 17), thereby suggesting that they are being transported to higher regions by the bird. When piled one over the other in trough-like vessels these ovals look like so many eggs.

It is noteworthy that in majority of cases the stars painted on the burial pottery have in the centre a dotted oval or a globule. Could it imply that these stars were also conceived by the Cemetery H folk to have been peopled by souls of the dead ?, a belief common among the ancient people of Egypt and Mesopotamia. I feel that the dots in the centres of the globules, ovals, stars, fishes, etc. signify the soul or the germ of life. If we take a rational and balanced view of these paintings we cannot but assign a deeper meaning even to the minor details, because they occur so frequently on the funeral pottery. They are not meaningless decorative motifs but embody the abstruse eschatological beliefs and convictions of the common folk who produced them. It is remarkable that the Indus people, though practising inhumation, did not believe, like the Sumerians and the Semites, in a dark underworld, but in a luminous celestial world to which the spirits of the deceased repaired. In this respect they come very close to the Vedic Aryans.[2]

It is interesting to note that among motifs exhibited on the burial pottery from Cemetery H the *pipal* tree plays an important

---

1. See p. 19 *supra*.

2. The joys of Heaven are given in the *Rigveda* (IX, 13). There are eternal light and swift waters, movement unrestricted, spirit food, satiety, joy, glee, gladness, fulfilment of desires.

(Macdonell)

Proceeding by the path which the Fathers trod, the spirit of the deceased goes to the realm of eternal light, being invested with lustre like that of the gods. (Ath. Veda, 11, 1)

In the Vedic Age, as in the post-Vedic, among the Indian Aryans cremation was the normal practice of disposal of the dead. But the holy ascetics and infants under two years of age were buried. This practice continues in Hindu society with some variations in different parts of the country even in present times.

Presumably the idea underlying the cremation of the dead person of higher age was purification from the worldly sins that he or she might have committed in lifetime. The holy ascetics and the infants being free from the evils of life were not to undergo this fiery ordeal. Some similar belief was also entertained by the Indus people who, as a purificatory ritual corresponding to cremation, practised exposure of dead adults to elements but buried the dead infants complete in urns in embryonic position, thinking that being untainted by sins they did not need any purification.

role. The earlier Indus people held it sacred and even worshipped it as the divine Tree of Knowledge. Consequently we find this motif commonly represented on seals and pottery of the contemporary times. But it appears that the Cemetery H people, too, held it equally holy and used it commonly enough among the painted motifs on the funeral pottery.

The paintings on pottery of the Second Stratum, unlike those on pottery of the first Stratum, do not show elaborate scenes of dead man's journey to the next world, but are restricted to the simple designs such as plants, creepers, animals, stars, fishes, etc.

Solar World

The impact of the evidence on hand leads perforce to the conclusion that the Land of Bliss where the spirit of the dead man was supposed to repair was *par excellence* the Solar World (*Surya-loka*). This is also beyond question that the bull, the peacock, the *pipal* and the lotus were associated in one way or the other with the sun or the Solar World.

Peacock

A large number of burial urns and other funeral pottery from Cemetery H show rayed orbs which unmistakably are emblematic of the sun. From times immemorial the peacock has been associated with the sun because its plumage bears striking resemblance to the solar disc. There is no other known bird on the face of the earth that can rival it in the majesty of its form and the splendour of its multicoloured plumage which, when spread out, brings vividly to mind the solar disc. The peacock has fittingly been called the sun-bird.[1]

Pipal Tree

The *pipal* tree was also associated with the sun. Indus seals depict a deity standing under a *pipal* arch (*torana*) whose leaves radiate in the form of solar rays (Fig. 61).[2] Again certain sherds from Chanhu-daro show solar orbs whose rays are shooting forth in the form of *pipal* leaves and peacocks are in attendance upon them (Fig. 62). In some instances they are seen perched on their branches and pecking at the stems, perhaps trying to counteract the effect of the poisonous insects clinging to them.[3] Peacock's efficacy for counteracting the

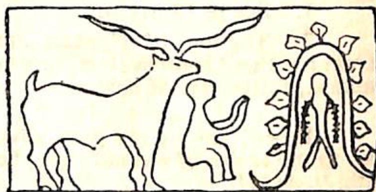


Fig. 61.

1. For a fuller account of association of peacock with the sun see page 101 *infra*.

2. Also see fig. 161 *infra*.

3. Mackay, E., *Excavations at Chanhu-daro*, Pl. XXXVI.

poison is referred to in the *Rigveda* (1,24) as well as in the *Atharvaveda* (VII, 56, 7).[1]



Fig. 62.

Lotus

The association of the lotus with the sun is beyond question. Indian literature is replete with allusions to the "forest of lotuses blossoming at the sight of the sun and withering at sunset". The Indus people were aware of this trait of the lotus, that is why they associated it with the sun.[2]

From time immemorial the bull is a sacred animal in India. In Vedic times *Mahoksha* (the grand bull) was held in high esteem. The post-Vedic and the epic literatures often describe the bull as a symbol of righteousness or *dharma*.[3] In Puranic Age it became the sacred Nandi bull as Siva's vehicle. During the Indus period it must have been associated with some god. Considering that *Pipal God* was the supreme deity of the times, it is but natural to connect this noblest of the domestic animals with that god, which was presumably the sun-god.

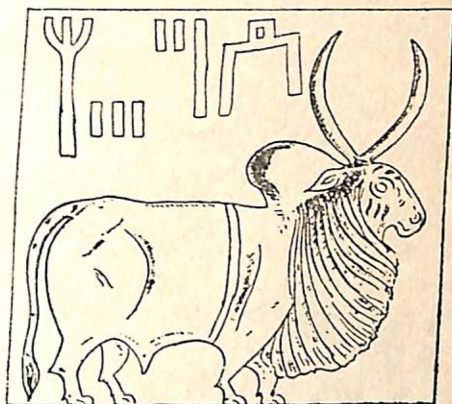


Fig. 63.

The *Atharvaveda* mentions that ox was sacrificed for the dead presumably to ride on. The burial paintings on Harappa Pottery actually show the spirit of the dead man (*Preta*) riding a bull. In the *Rigveda* (X, 1, 16, 3) the soul is spoken of as going to the waters, plants, etc., a conception that is confirmed by the pictorial representation on the Indus pottery. The same *Samhita* mentions a celestial tree which, according to the *Atharvaveda*, is a fig tree. The *pipal* (*asvattha*) tree is a fig tree as it belongs to the *ficus* genus and is known as *ficus religiosa* (the sacred fig tree). The

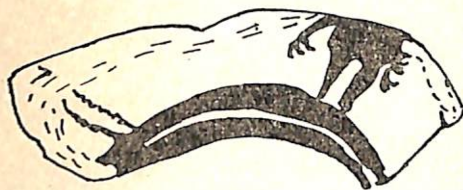


Fig. 64.

1. For a fuller account of association of *Pipal* with the sun see p. 101 *infra*.

2. For a fuller account of association of lotus with the sun see p. 102 *infra*.

3. For a fuller account of bull's role in ancient Indian literature and art see p. 92 *infra*.

Vedic literature also refers to the spies (*spasas*) of Varuna and Pushan's sure-footed goat acting as a guide (*prapathya*) on the roads. All these concepts are well reflected in the paintings on the funeral pottery of the Cemetery H.

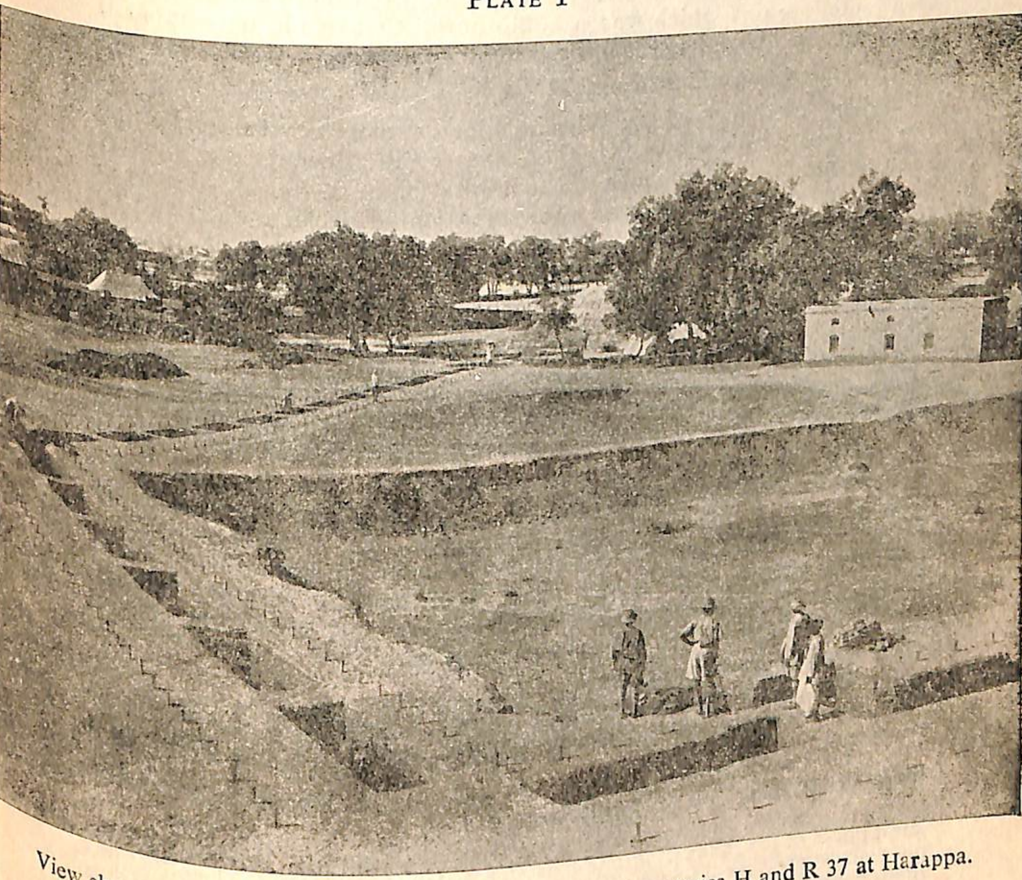
As yet very little is known about the racial peculiarities of the Indus people. Every point of comparison or contrast between them and the Vedic Aryans should be carefully noted. A study of the subject on these lines coupled with the possibility of some revealing archaeological discovery in future is bound to supply a clue to the solution of this most vexed of the problems of Indian prehistory.

5

Cemetery R 37

As noticed above, this cemetery was accidentally discovered in the year 1937. It is located immediately to the north-west of the Archaeological Museum, Harappa (fig. 1). Following its discovery

PLATE I



View showing **Dr. Wheeler's** exploratory trench linking Cemeteries H and R 37 at Harappa. (Courtesy *Archaeological Survey af India*)

the area was excavated by the writer in collaboration with Mr. H.K. Bose, the Anthropological Assistant, continuously for four years. Altogether about fifty earth-burials were uncovered in it. These constitute the only regular cemetery of the early Harappa culture so far known to us. In 1946 Dr. (now Sir) Mortimer Wheeler also carried out a brief excavation in this area by driving a long exploratory trench in the adjoining Cemetery H and extending it south-west-ward in order to link up the two cemeteries for ascertaining their stratigraphical relationship. His work conclusively confirmed the view, which the writer had earlier expressed in his preliminary report,[1] that the Cemetery R 37 was earlier than Cemetery H and belonged to the people of the true Harappa culture, whereas the latter was attributed to some alien people who arrived at Harappa when the early civilization was rapidly heading towards disintegration.[2] This was clearly demonstrated by the stratigraphy of the area excavated. The two strata bearing fractional pot-burials and the earth-burials of the Cemetery H overlay the burials of R 37. In his excavation of 1946 Dr. Wheeler found ten more burials in this area including one which was a coffin-burial that could be compared to a Sumerian burial of the early 3rd millennium B.C.

R 37 earlier than Cemetery H

The evidence of Dr. Wheeler's long exploratory trench linking the two cemeteries shows that the Cemetery R 37 occupied a slightly high ground not far south of the habitation area (fig. 1). Between this cemetery and the town (now represented by Mounds D and E) lay a trough-like depression which, sometimes subsequent to the disuse of Cemetery R 37, was deliberately levelled with debris largely consisting of a compact mass of potsherds. Thereafter a further deposit of levelling material was introduced before Cemetery H came into being in the area explored. Although no burial of the Cemetery H type was found in 1946, the section indicated that this cemetery was well within the range of the infilling and was therefore likewise later than R 37.

Of the fifty seven graves excavated in the Cemetery R 37, four yielded complete skeletons, five had been disturbed anciently and two were not completely uncovered. In a total of eighteen instances certain burials had been cut by later graves and in eight instances earlier burials had again been cut by tertiary burials. Nevertheless, the cemetery belonged to one and the same general stratum and was obviously in continuous use.

Orientation and Grave-pits

The body was normally extended, occasionally on one side or the other with the head pointing to the north. In one instance a

1. This report was supplied by the writer to Dr. Wheeler in 1945 before the latter had started his work at Harappa in 1946.

2. In Mr. Vats's opinion the burials of the Cemetery H belong to the latest phase of the Indus Civilization as represented at Harappa—a phase that was not reached at Mohenjo-daro. He further holds that it is difficult to divorce the Indus culture from the Cemetery H culture.

grave was found with head pointing to the south. Gravepits varied in dimensions, ranging from 10 to 15 ft. in length, 2·5 to 10 ft. in

PLATE II



Harappa, Cemetery R 37—Two of the ten human burials excavated by Dr. M. Wheeler in 1946
(Courtesy *Archaeological Survey of India*)

width, and dug to depth of 2 or 3 ft. from the contemporary surface. The pit was generally wide towards the head for accommodating larger quantities of pottery near the head. The number of pottery accompanying a burial ranged from 2 to 40, with an average of 15 to 20. Most of the types were such as occur on habitation sites of the mature Harappa culture, but there were also many new types not seen in the habitation areas as will be apparent from the list of the burial pottery appended below.

Grave Furniture

The personal ornaments were sometimes worn by the dead. They included necklaces of steatite beads, anklets of paste beads, copper earrings, shell bangles and beads of steatite and paste. A copper ring was found on the right finger-ring of a dead person.

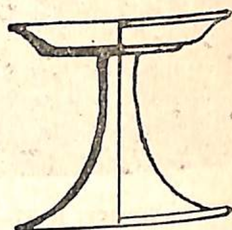
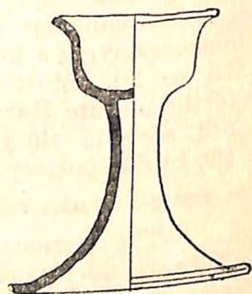
Besides pottery and personal ornaments, toilet objects occasionally formed a part of the grave furniture. Out of the total number of graves found in the years 1937 to 1940, twelve yielded each a tanged copper mirror, others revealed mother-of-pearl shells, one an antimony rod and one a large shell spoon.

It may be noted that some of the graves contained, besides human skeletons, a few decayed animal bones. One grave included the bones of a fowl, together with a small handled terracotta lamp placed at the head of the dead man.

Burial Pottery

A large number of burial pottery forming the grave furniture was recovered from the earth-burials of the Cemetery R 37. The pottery is very varied and rich comprising no less than forty five main types and, including their variants, about 175 sub-types. Broadly speaking, it is comparable to the household pottery forms exhumed from the habitation sites at Harappa. But there are some types which are quite new and peculiar to the Cemetery R 37. Such are the types Nos. V, VIII, XII, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVIII and XXXIX as given in the following list.

A list of the main type is appended below for ready reference of the reader :—

Type	*Description*	*Diagram*
I	Offerings' stand with a funnel-shaped long plain base and a flat carinated dish. Ht. 13.5—25.0 inches.	 Fig. 65.
II	Offerings' stand with a funnel-shaped long plain stem culminating in a cup or bowl. Ht. 8.1—14.0 inches.	 Fig. 66.

III Goblet with pointed base; commonest ware in the upper levels at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. It was an ordinary drinking vessel and once used it was discarded.

Ht. 5.75 inches.

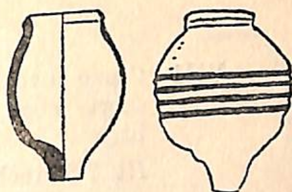


Fig. 67.

IV Oval jar with everted rim and flat base.

Ht. 6.0 inches.



Fig. 68.

V Barrel-shaped jar with everted rim and flat base.

Ht. 8·0 inches.

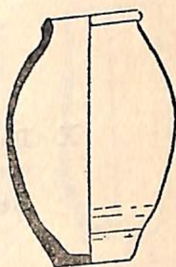


Fig. 69.

VI Tall oval jar with small mouth.

Ht. 10.5 inches.



Fig. 70.

VII Oval jar having a beaded concave base, short neck and slightly everted rim.

Ht. 7·0 inches.

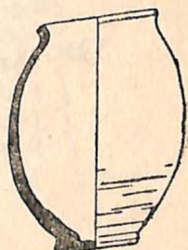


Fig. 71.

VIII Crude ovoid vessel with a short neck and wide flat base.
Ht. 7·25 inches.



Fig. 72.

IX Small oval jar with a ledged shoulder, flat base and trimmed exterior.
Ht. 8·0 inches.



Fig. 73.

X Bulgy ledge-necked jar with everted rim and flat bottom.
Ht. 8·0 inches.

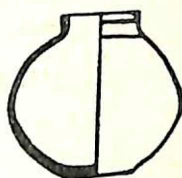


Fig. 74.

XI Jar with ledged neck and keeled body, everted rim and flat base. This type has about a dozen variant forms, some of which are painted in black on light red ground with bands, hatched patterns, peacocks, bipinnate leaves, etc.,
Ht. 6·0 inches.



Fig. 75.

XII Pyriform vessel with flared neck, large mouth and comparatively small flat base ; a new type.
Ht. 8·0 inches.

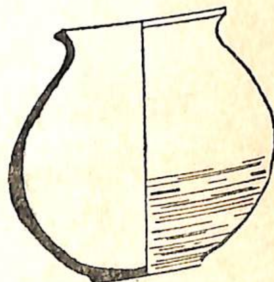


Fig. 76.

XIII Globular vessel with a flange round the ledged neck. A variant of it is painted with *pipal* leaf, palm-frond and cross-hatched patterns.

Ht. 6·5 inches.

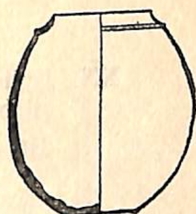


Fig. 77.

XIV Tumbler-shaped cylindrical vase having several variants.

Ht. 4·75 inches.



Fig. 78.

XV-XVII Under this class come numerous large cylindrical vases.

Ht. 6·25 — 8·0 inches.

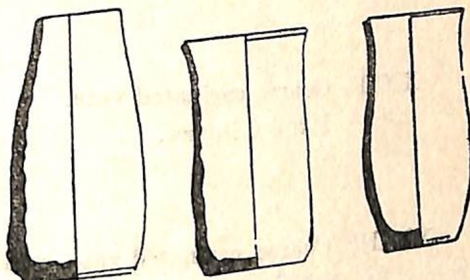


Fig. 79.

XVIII Elongated bottle-shaped vase with a slightly bulging profile and everted rim; new type.

Ht. 9·75 inches.



Fig. 80.

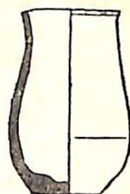
XIX Squat pear-shaped vase; new type.

Ht. 7·5 inches.

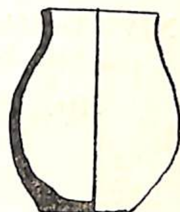


Fig. 81.

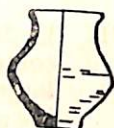
XX Cylindrical vase with a slightly convex profile.
Ht. 6·5 inches.


Fig. 82.

XXI *Martban*-shaped ovoid vase.
Ht. 6·5 inches.


Fig. 83.

XXII Coarse carinated vase.
Ht. 4·0 inches.


Fig. 84.

XXIII Coarse carinated vase, small-sized.
Ht. 2·25 inches.


Fig. 85.

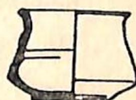
XXIV Coarse carinated vase, small-sized, but of heavy build.
Ht. 2·6 inches.


Fig. 86

XXV Oval vase, bottom and mouth almost of equal width.
Ht. 2·6 inches.


ig. 87

XXVI Squat carinated vase.
Ht. 3·25 inches.


Fig. 88.

XXVII Slender cylindrical vase with incurving sides.

Ht. 7·5 inches.



Fig. 89.

XXVIII High-pedestalled elliptical vase.

Ht. 10·0 inches.



Fig. 90.

XXIX Elongated elliptical vase with slightly everted rim and ring-base; new type.

Ht. 12·0 inches.



Fig. 91.

XXX A flat shallow dish with incurving rim. This type outnumbers every other type among R 37 pottery and is extremely common both at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

Diam. 10·75 inches.

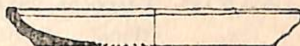


Fig. 92.

XXXI A flat shallow dish with thick inwardly rounded rim.

Diam. 12 0 inches.



Fig. 93.

XXXII A flat shallow dish with rounded rim and discular base.

Diam. 11·0 inches



Fig. 94.

XXXIII Deep bowl or jar-cover with wide mouth, tapering sides and flat base.

Diam. 11·5 inches.

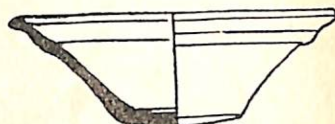


Fig. 95.

XXXIV Cup or lamp with perforated lug-handle, common in habitation areas.

Diam. 4·0 inches.



g. 96.

XXXV Small cup with straight sides, of thick build ; new type.

Diam. 1·75 inches.



Fig. 97.

XXXVI Circular casket with straight sides and a squat base ; new type.

Diam. 9·0 inches.

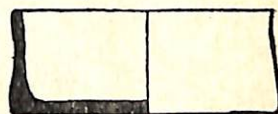


Fig. 98.

XXXVII Circular casket with a flange below rim, slightly tapering sides and ring-base ; new type.

Diam. 7·25 inches.

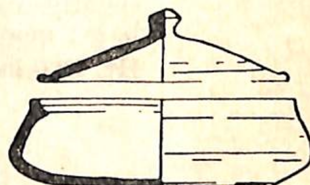


Fig. 99.

XXXVIII Circular casket with a ledged neck ; new type.

Diam. 8·0 inches.

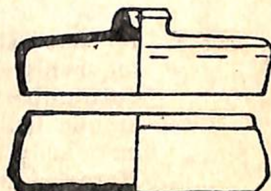


Fig. 100.

XXXIX Hemispherical lid with a knob handle resembling the neck of a water jar.

Diam. 9·0 inches.



Fig. 101.

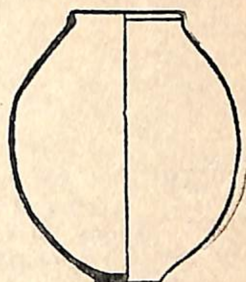


Fig. 102.

XL Oval storage jar with a thick everted rim. This type is common at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

Ht. 17·5 inches.

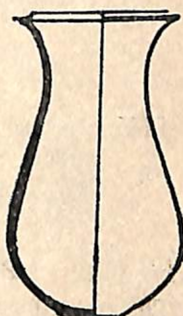


Fig. 103.

XLI Tall craterform jar with a thick flanged mouth and narrow flat base. It is painted in black on a pale red ground with intricate geometric patterns of intersecting circles, etc.

Ht. 20·0 inches.

XLII Large bulbous jar with a flange round the neck. It was painted with *pipal* leaves, palm-frond and other plant motifs which have mostly faded away.

Ht. 17·25 inches.

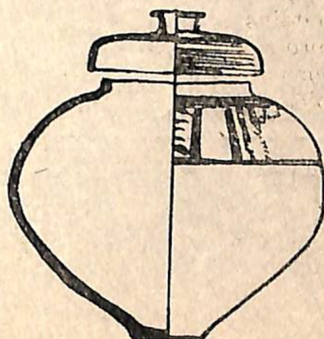


Fig. 104.

XLIII Large storage trough with wide mouth and tapering base terminating in a narrow flat bottom, painted with black bands only.

Ht. 18·1 inches.

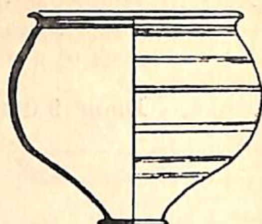


Fig. 105.

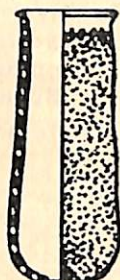


Fig. 106.

XLIV Tall cylindrical vessel with everted rim ; has perforations all over the body and a large circular hole on the underside.[1]

Ht. 18·1 inches.

XLV Jar-stand with incurving sides.

Diam. 9·7 inches.

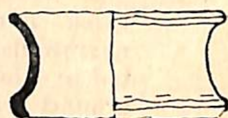


Fig. 107.

Notable Painted Pottery from Cemetery R 37

The crateriform jar (Fig. 108)[2] is painted in the upper portion with a broad band divided into compartments. The central compartment has eight friezes of uneven width. In the topmost frieze below the neck and in the fifth frieze lower down is depicted a row of *pipal* leaves. The second, the sixth and the eighth friezes each contains a band hatched by series of closely set slanting lines. The third and seventh friezes are filled with dotted circlets or globules demarcated by uprights. The fourth frieze contains vertically set thick zigzag lines which perhaps denote caterpillars. To the right

1. A similar vessel filled with charcoal and ashes was found by Sir Aurel Stein at Feroz Khan Damb in Makran. It is difficult to ascertain its exact purpose, though in Cemetery R 37 its funeral character is self-evident. This type is very common at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. These vessels have recently been compared with the ceremonial vessels that are used by devotees in Madras at the present day for burning camphor.

Cf. Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations*, p. 83 and
A. Aiyappan, *Pottery Braziers of Mohenjo-dara*
Man, 1939, IV, e. 65.

2. Wheeler, M., *Ancient India*, No. 3, Pl. XLVII A, fig. 22, XLI*a*,

of this compartment are four peacocks standing to left and looking intently towards the objects enclosed within the compartment just

Fig.108.

described. Interspersed in the space between the peacocks are some caterpillar-like objects. On the left of the central compartment are shown the serrated leaves of some tree, presumably acacia, and in the column next to it is another tree with elongated leaves which may be the stylized *pipal* plant with leaves shown drooping in profile.

Another craterform jar, but much smaller in size (Fig. 109)[1] is decorated in the upper portion with floral and other designs. Of the four panels into which the composition is divided the one at the extreme left end shows a tree with bipinnate leaves which I take to be the *pipal* tree with elongated leaves. The second and the fourth panels have almost identical designs, each containing friezes from top to bottom of vertically set serrated lines, trellis, *pipal* leaves. The third panel shows a highly conventionalized acacia tree. The

1. *Ibid.*, B, fig. 22, XLI,*c*.

common band running at the bottom of these panels is filled with a series of linked twin leaves containing tiny dots.

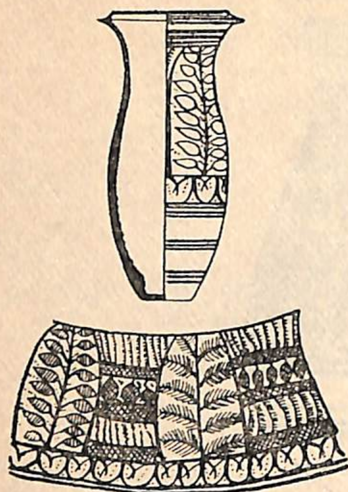


Fig. 109.



Fig. 110.

A craterform vase (Fig. 110)[1] with squattish base is roughly painted with two hurriedly drawn designs. In the upper section are two conventionalized trees[2], most probably the twin celestial trees, *viz.*, the *pipal* and acacia. The lower band contains a jumble of vertically drawn zigzag lines.



Fig. 111.

A round jar with flanged neck (Fig. 111)[3] is decorated round the shoulder with a frieze of crudely drawn *pipal* leaves and conventionalized twin trees of *pipal* and acacia. Below this frieze is a band of trellis. The whole pattern is drawn very crudely. In one case the loose *pipal* leaves are shown squarely but the leaves of the *pipal* tree are shown drooping and sidewise only one half of each leaf being visible.

---

1. *Ancient India*, No. 3, PI.XLVI, 3 ; fig. 22, XLI *d*.

2. It is to be noted that on some dishes found by Sir A. Stein in the course of hi explorations in Baluchistan have been noticed the same twin stress (Fig. 138). I think it was a fashion in those days to depict these celestial trees on some pottery that was intended for ceremonial purpose.

Cf. Stein, A.S., *Memoirs* Nos. 43, Pl. XXVII, Mehi 5 and Pl. XXIX Mehi 11,6,3.

3. *Ancient India*, No. 3, Pl. XLVI, 5 ; fig. 16, XIII *a*.


Fig. 112.

A bicônvex vase (Fig. 112)[1] painted in black on red ground with a broad band, half of which is divided into four friezes showing respectively the zones of zigzag lines, trellis, circlets, and oblique lines. The other half portrays two stylized trees and two peacocks looking at one of them very attentively. Apparently the trees do not seem *pipal* trees as the leaves are much too elongated and proportionally of small width.

An ovoid vase with a slightly angular bulge at the centre (Fig. 113)[2] It is painted with circumscribed eight-petalled floral design. Instead of being mere decorative designs, they may represent stylized solar orbs, a realistic delineation of which is to be seen on a few sherds. On one of them (Fig. 62) several peacocks are also in attendance on the floral solar orb whose rays are radiating in the form of *pipal* leaves.


Fig. 113.

A small oval vase (Fig. 114)[3] is painted round the shoulder with a spray showing three realistic *pipal* leaves.


Fig. 114.

A tall painted dish-on-stand shows round the funnel-shaped base a design comprising stylized *pipal* leaves, series of black bands and some other motifs (Fig. 115).[4]


Fig. 115.

1. *Ancient India*, No. 3, Pl. XLVI, 4 ; fig. 15, XI *f.*
2. *Ibid.*, P. XLVI, 1.
3. *Ibid.*, P[. XLVI, 6.
4. *Ibid*, Pl. XLVI, 2.

6

Comparisons and Contrasts Between Cemeteries R 37 and H (Stratum II)

In both the cemeteries the dead bodies were buried in oblong-shaped earth-pits accompanied with funeral pottery, generally grouped near about the head (fig. 2 and Pl. II). The authors of the two cemeteries who were removed from each other by a fairly longtime-gap, believed in a celestial world, the Land of Bliss, to which the spirit of the dead repaired after its release from the mortal coil. They also held the *asvattha* sacred and attributed to the peacock some occult powers by virtue of which it could pilot the spirit to the higher spheres (*lokas*) (fig. 15). Both thought that some imperishable essence, some subtle inscrutable part of human entity, outlived the final destruction of the physical frame. The journey to the Land of Bliss was supposed to be long and perilous and to meet this contingency they provided the dead man in the grave with funeral pottery, water, food, sacrificial offerings etc.[1]

There are, however, several points of difference, too, in respect of the funeral customs of the two people. For example, the orientation of the dead bodies was different in the two cemeteries. In R 37 they were mostly laid from north to south whereas in the case of those in Cemetery H the prevailing direction was from north-east to south-west. The funeral pottery accompanying the burials in the

1. The contemporary Sumerians and the Egyptians, too, held similar beliefs about the permanence of human essence after a man's career in this world had ended. Among the Egyptians the spirit of the dead Pharaoh, known as 'Ka', was supposed to return to the corporeal body after it had undergone a long term of ordeals in the underworld. It was in anticipation of its ultimate return to this world that the body of the Pharaoh was mummified and preserved in a pyramid tomb which was expected to survive till eternity. In this tomb the mummified Pharaoh was provided with a rich equipment of worldly objects which he used during his lifetime. Likewise in the Kings' Graves excavated at Ur in Mesopotomia by Sir Leonard Woolley rich funeral paraphernalia was found along with the entombed dead bodies of the royal personages. In the Indus Valley the funeral equipment accompanying the dead bodies was of poor quality, but the basic exchatological belief underlying the ritual was almost the same.

two cemeteries varied from each other in fabric, forms, and decoration, though the ritual purpose remained the same.

The pottery found in R 37 was extremely varied in nature. As many as forty five main types and their variants numbering no less than 175 have so far been found in fifty seven graves exposed in R 37.[1] Most of the funerary ware found in this Cemetery is identical in material, shapes and decoration with the pottery recovered from the habitation areas at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. However, quite a good number of pottery forms make new additions to the existing collection. Some of them are paralleled among the pottery hoards G 15 and G 130 and also in the multiple burial No. G 289 excavated by Mr. Vats in Area G in 1928 and 29. But many more specimens remain unparalleled by any types hitherto recovered from Harappa or Mohenjo-daro. The presence of this novel element in the funeral pottery of R 37 may have been due either to the instinct of providing for the diversity of fancied needs of the dead person, or it may imply a phase of the Indus culture hitherto unrepresented in the habitation areas. Another distinctive characteristic of the R 37 burials is that in good many instances personal ornaments and toilet objects, such as necklaces and anklets of steatite and other beads, ear-rings, tanged copper mirrors, mother-of-pearl shells, spoons, etc. were placed in association with the dead person. This feature is conspicuous by its absence in the burials of the Second Stratum of the Cemetery H as well as in the multiple burial No. G 289 in Area G.

Paintings on Funeral Pottery

The funeral pottery accompanying the multiple burial G 289 in Area G was severely plain and simple. But a large number of the pottery pieces found in association with the earth-burials in Cemetery H and R 37 were decorated with circumscribed solar orbs, stars, peacocks, goats, *pipal* leaves and plant motifs. Nevertheless the concomitant pottery associated with Cemetery H II does not show elaborate scenes of dead man's journey to the next world. The conception regarding spirit's journey to the next world seems not to have been fully evolved in the time of the Cemetery H II. Among the funeral paintings in the time of Cemetery R 37 there also occur the peacock, the *pipal* leaves, but not the goat. Another noteworthy common characteristic of the two is that the bull which became such a favourite motif with the people of the Cemetery H I is non-existent in the Second Stratum as well as on pottery from R 37. Perhaps the only representation of bull is on a flat cover where four cattle-heads with incurving horns (which may also be the heads of the Markhor goat) are superposed on the tops of three fish designs (fig. 34). The introduction of bull into the repertoire of the funeral motifs and its conversion into a hybrid form as mount of the dead man's spirit (*Preta*) seems to have been a later development unknown in the time of the first phase of the Cemetery H.

---

1. *Cf.* Wheeler, *Ancient India*, No. 3, pp.99-116 (fig. 11·23)

The above analysis clearly shows that in the time of Cemetery R 37 the two motifs of the pre-R 37 period, *viz.*, the peacock and the *pipal*, found on the household pottery of the habitation areas had acquired funeral significance, because both of them occur on the burial pottery of the Cemetery. It is remarkable that besides *pipal* the other celestial plant—acacia—also occurs on R 37 ware which is totally absent on the funeral pottery of Cemetery H II. These twin plants were worshipped by the early Indus people as cult objects, one (*pipal*) being regarded as the Tree of Creation or Knowledge (*Brahma-taru*), and the other (acacia) as the Tree of Life (*Jivana-taru*). The authors of the Cemetery H II who came in the wake of R 37 people also inherited the earlier traditions pertaining to the sanctity of the *pipal* tree as evidenced by the frequent occurrence of this tree on the funeral ware accompanying the earth-burials of the Second Stratum. But it is difficult to explain as to why they dropped the acacia tree which is not found on their pottery.

Nevertheless the absence of acacia is compensated by the addition of the goat to the list of the essential funeral equipment indispensable to the spirit's admission to the Land of Bliss.

However, in the time of Cemetery H I the conception of the Land of Bliss had acquired considerable importance and was highly elaborated. As evident from the pictorial representations on burial jars they had a vivid notion of the Elysium and of the hazards of the journey which the spirit of the dead (*Preta*) had to face in order to reach it. The celestial region is indicated by groups of stars occurring in great abundance on the funeral pottery. But at the same time it can hardly be doubted that the enormous number of rayed orbs encountered on the funeral pottery of the two strata of Cemetery H definitely stand for the solar orbs and signify that the Land of Bliss situated in the celestial region indicated by the star-spangled belts was no other than the Solar World (*Surya-loka*) where the *sukshma sarira* (spirit) of the deceased was supposed to dwell eventually. In order to facilitate the spirit's journey to the Land of Bliss, the bull, the *pipal*, the lotus and the peacock played a very prominent part. As pointed out above, the *pipal* and peacock had also acquired funeral significance earlier even in the time of the Cemetery R 37 and H II. But in the time of the Cemetery H I not only the above two elements had gained functional importance, but to them were now added two more, *viz.*, the bull and the lotus. Henceforward the peacock and the bull play a very prominent part as vehicles of the spirit to the Solar World. The former is seen either accompanying the spirit as a path-finder or bodily transporting it in its belly to the higher spheres. While the latter, assuming a hybrid form, is carrying it first on its back and then on its neck and ultimately merges it in its body as a pre-requisite to gaining access to the Solar World.

Similarly we find that in the time of Cemetery H II (*i.e.*, the Second Stratum of burials) the *pipal* tree (*asvattha*) played a very

important functional role. Not only it becomes *par excellence* the solar plant, but its trident-shaped linked triple leaves are also used as crests (*sikhanda*) on the heads of the large goat and the bovine animals emerging from the ordeals of the fateful journey. We have also seen on a number of stray sherds from Harappa, Mohanjo-daro and Chanhu-daro the representation of solar orbs with *pipal* eaves radiating in the form of rays (fig. 62). The linked *pipal* leaf crests on the heads of animals have been interpreted by Mr. Vats as tridents derived from the trident-shaped horned head-dress of the so-called Pasupati form of Siva carved on a square steatite seal from Mohenjo-daro.[1] But as I have shown elsewhere[2] the fan-shaped crest rising from the centre of the buffalo's horns on the god's head is itself a symbolic representation of the fanshaped foliage of the conventionalized *pipal* tree emerging from a seed-vessel resting on an altar. The whole *pipal* tree motif on Mohenjo-daro seal No. 387 (fig. 116)[3] was emblematic of the *Pipal God*, the Supreme Deity of the Indus Valley, combining his two symbols, *viz.*, the *pipal* tree and the unicorn. The other Indus gods like the buffalo-headed deity, who dons a crown composed of the above two symbols, were no doubt subordinate to the *pipal* God.[4] Thus the same *pipal* crest which during the early Indus period, the gods, the divine heroes and the high priests wore on their heads as a mark of distinction and divine origin, is also seen in the same role on the burial pottery of the Cemetery H I, where it appears as a mark of divinity and distinction on the heads of animals accompanying the spirit of the dead person (fig. 13B).



Fig. 116.

The above parallelisms between the funeral customs of the people belonging to the Cemeteries R 37 and H II and *H* I bring us face to face with the question of the racial affinities of their authors. There is no doubt that culturally the people responsible for the Cemetery R 37 were distinct from the other two peoples. Culturally and racially they were akin to the authors of the Indus Civilization who occupied the habitation areas from the first half of the fourth millennium B.C. to the time when the Cemetery H II people appeared on the scene. The whole cultural equipment revealed by the excavations in the areas inhabited by the early people is entirely distinct and has very little in common with the Cemetery H people. The only visible remnants of this latter culture are the human burials with the concomitant pottery found in the two strata. This burial pottery marks such a radical departure from the early ceramic tradition as to compel one to conclude that racially its authors belonged to

1. Mackay, E., *Further Excavations*, Vol. II, Pl. XCIV, 420.
2. Sastri, K.N., *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 8.
3. Marshall, *Ibid.*, Pl. CXII, 387.
4. Sastri, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 19.

an entirely different stock and were alien to the originators of the Indus Civilization. This is the logical conclusion to which the material as well as circumstantial evidence perforce leads. But the excavation of the skeletal remains from the Cemetery H area led Dr. B S. Guha to declare that the skulls found in the earth-burials of Cemetery H II—as well as those unearthed in the habitation area of Mound AB, and in the multiple burial No. G 289 in Area G show a racial continuity from the early times down to the end of the Cemetery H II phase According to the same authority, by the time the jar-burials of the First Stratum came into being, a new ethnic element seems to have made its appearance in the early population. The racial type in the early population was characterized by a large-headed dolicho-cephalic people with well-developed supra-orbital ridges and high cranial roof, long face and prominent nose.[1] But the racial type found in the jar-burials of the First Stratum is marked by a small, low-headed crania as found even at present among the aboriginal population of India.

Thus in the light of Dr. Guha's findings we have to believe that from the earliest prehistoric times up to the dawn of the Cemetery H I period the population of Harappa mainly consisted of the large-headed dolicho-cephalic people. But among the skulls found in the jar-burials of Cemetery H I only one such skull was found, the rest were all of a low-headed race. This conclusion, however, comes into sharp conflict with the archaeological evidence found by Mr. Vats in his excavations in the Cemetery H. The burials unearthed by him in the two strata here, though slightly different in forms, belonged to one ceramic tradition. In respect of material, technique of firing, texture and the style of paintings the potteries found in the two strata were closely allied to each other but alien to the pottery of the early Harappa culture. So much so, that though the two strata of burials lay one over the other in two distinct layers, in some cases the burials of the two strata inevitably got mixed up. Moreover, there was practically no intervening debris between the two kinds of burials. From this evidence Mr. Vats came to the conclusion that the two strata of burials in the Cemetery H were not separated from each other by very great length of time, and therefore, may have been more or less contemporary. The sudden change in the burial customs

1. According to Dr. B.S. Guha, "this type of skull (*i.e.* large-headed dolicho-cephalic) is closely allied to Mohenjo-daro I and SKI M 28 skulls excavated by Dr. Mackay from Mohenjo-daro subsequently. It also resembles in shape and proportions the Al'Ubald skulls and the massive type of Kish crania described by Keith and Buxton and the pre-Dynastic Kawamil skulls from upper Egypt."

He further observes :—"There is no reason to doubt the continued presence of the races of the Indus Valley Period of Mohenjo-daro in earlier epochs a seen from the G site and open burial remains. But with the introduction of the jar-burials indicating probably a considerable gap of time, a definite admixture with a small, low headed race, such as is seen among the present aboriginal population of India, is strongly indicated. The Harappa remains also demonstrate the presence of a non-Armenoid, and probably also of an Armenoid-Alpine race in the Indus Valley during the Chalcolithic times, whose presence was surmised at Mohenjo-daro from the presence of a single skull of a child."

of the two people revealed in the two strata is explained by him as a result of some racial or cultural upheaval brought about by the immigration of a foreign people into the district. This view is based partly on the cranial evidence yielded by the Harappa skulls examined by Dr. B.S. Guha, and partly on other internal evidence. The latter, however, thinks that the time interval between the two strata of burials was a long one.

It becomes difficult to reconcile the conflicting conclusions from the two kinds of evidence. The archaeological evidence would point that the people belonging to the two phases of the Cemetery H culture were racially akin, and probably came in two waves from some unknown place. The people belonging to the first wave brought into existence the lower stratum of earth-burials (Stratum II), while the second influx must have followed it after a considerable interval of time. During this interval the burial practice had undergone a substantial change, *viz*., from open earth-burials to fractional jar-burials. The ceramic tradition, however, remained to a great extent the same so far as fineness of fabric, technique of firing, texture and style of paintings were concerned. If, however, we accept the anthropological evidence it would be difficult to explain the continuity of the earlier ceramic tradition even in the time of the latter phase of the Cemetery H culture, unless we assume that the second wave of immigrants, which generally consisted of small, low-headed people, became partly converts to the beliefs of the early people (of Stratum II) and as a consequence borrowed their ceramic tradition in a large measure, though they stuck to their method of jar-burial without adopting the earlier mode of disposal of the dead, *viz*., the earth-burial.

Harappa Cemetery at Rupar

In the year 1953-54 the Department of Archaeology in India discovered a cemetery of the Harappa period at Rupar, district Ambala. Though of the same type as Cemetery R 37, it lacked many Harappan elements. One has only to refer to *Ancient India* No. 3 (Figs. 13 to 23 and Plates XLVI and XLVII) to be sure of the enormous number and diversity of the funerary pottery that accompanied the burials in Cemetery R 37. They include carteriform and flanged oval jars, hemispherical jars, covers, caskets with mitred lids, etc. painted with motifs of religious import like peacocks, acacia, *pipal*, etc [1] The above pottery types and the painted designs are entirely missing at Rupar. Nor has the Rupar cemetery yielded a single tanged copper mirror or mother-of-pearl shell which were common toilet objects buried with the dead at Harappa. In some graves at Harappa was noticed, along with human skeletons, bones of sacrificed animals and birds, a feature also lacking at Rupar.

Thus, though the cemetery at Rupar is Harappan in origin, it is not contemporary of the Cemetery R 37. It appears that its authors had lost contact with the centres of the Indus civilization for

1. See list of funeral pottery from Cemetery R 37 on pp. 42-50

long. Burial customs die hard and, though the mode of disposal of the dead remained the same during this long interval, the Harappans who settled at Rupar had forgotten many native traditions. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the total absence of many typically Harappan elements among the burials at Rupar.

AREA G

Multiple Burial No. G 289

It would be relevant to give here a brief account of a large hoard of skeletal remains mixed with funeral pottery—the whole deposit forming a multiple burial (No. G 289) of the early period. It was excavated by Mr. Vats in the level stretch of the Harappan ruins lying south of the Thana Mound just across the old Lahore-Multan road.[1]

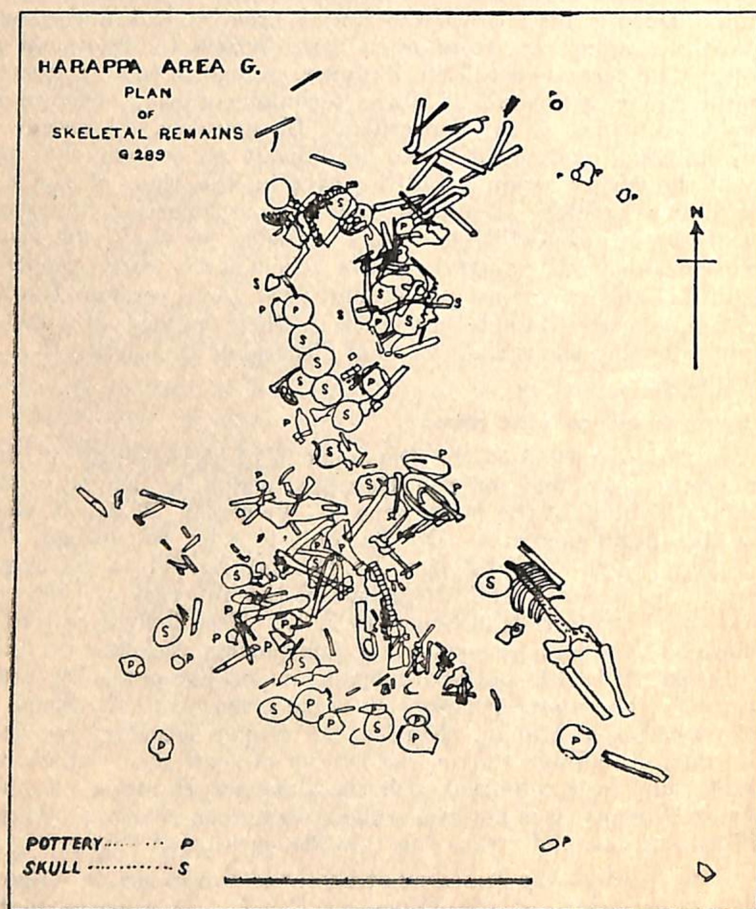


Fig. 117.

1. Vats, M.S., *Op cit.*, I, p. 192.

This multiple burial lay between 4 ft. and 5 ft. 10 inches below the surface and comprised twenty complete human skulls and some skull fragments, 10 lower jaws, parts of vertebral columns, bones of hips, legs and arms, some animal bones and a large number of pottery belonging to the pre-Cemetery H period of the Indus Civilization. The pottery recovered from this burial deposit consisted of twelve goblets with pointed bases, three offerings' dishes, eleven vases of various shapes and two saucers.

The human remains were freely mixed with typical Harappa pottery of the early period, and also with some animal bones including those of cattle. Among the pottery specimens the number of goblets with pointed bases (fig. 67) was larger than that of any other vessels, and the two dishes-on-stand found in this collection are entirely different from the strong squat dishes with horizontally ribbed bases (fig. 11/5) forming part of the grave furniture of Cemetery H II. But during all this time the technique of making a dish-on-stand by joining together the two separately made limbs, *viz.* the funnel-shaped base and the flat dish, remained the same. According to Mr. Vats, whatever may be the interval in time between the mounds and the Cemetery H, the area G very likely stood between the two. He thinks that a large number of flat-bottomed funeral pottery recovered from R 37 in 1938 was remarkably similar to that excavated from Area G in groups G 15, G 130 and the multiple burial No. G 289. In the Cemetery R 27 the work was continued for several years. Many pottery forms are quite new and not represented either in the habitation sites or in Area G.[1]

It is necessary to make some general observations regarding the multiple burial No. G. 289 mentioned above. In proportion to the number of skulls, *viz.*, 20, the quantity of other human bones was very small. The multiple burial also included a fragmentary human skeleton with a skull lying separate alongside the trunk. No personal ornaments were found mixed with the burial, nor was there any ornament on or near about the isolated skeleton from which one could deduce that it represented the principal person or a chief in whose honour the other persons and the animals were collectively sacrificed as part of a funeral ritual. Signs of a ceremonial slaughter of a large number of attendant males, females and animals were found in the Royal Tombs of Ur excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley.[2] Therefore in the opinion of Mr. Vats, whether this heap of mutilated bones resulted from a wholesale massacre of men, women and children represented in the heap, or whether these human beings fell victims to some raid, accident or epidemic, in any case they were given a proper burial in the customary manner. This burial, however, was very much different in ritual from the fourteen complete skeletons found by Mr. Hargreaves at Mohenjo-daro in Hr. Area.[3]

1. See list of the burial pottery from R 37, pp. 42-50 *infra*.
2. Woolley, C.L., *Ur Excavations*, p. 226.
3. *Cf. Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 79.

7

The Aryan Problem I

It was in 1870 that Sir William Jones pointed out that relationship between Sanskrit and the European languages was due to their origin from a common source. This realization led to the speculation of a common home where the speakers of these languages lived in a remote past and from where they dispersed in search of new homes. This dispersal is said to have taken place in a series of ethnic waves as conditions of life became harder and harder in the homeland. Ultimately those Aryan clans that settled in distant lands, became differentiated as Indo-Europeans, Indo-Aryans, Hitttites, Kassites, Mitannians and so on.

The basic conception of the generic unity of the above languages gave rise to divergent theories regarding the original home of the Aryans which may be summed up as follows :—

1. Indo-European or Indo-Germanic Theory.
2. The Nordic Theory.
3. The Central Asian Theory.
4. The Arctic Home of the Aryans Theory.
5. The *Sapta-Sindhavah* Theory.

According to the first two theories, which are allied, the Aryans first lived as a single ethnic group somewhere in the plains of Northern Europe. It is said that the racial type evolved here was of purer blood and spoke a language simpler and more archaic than any other language of the family. The great plain of Northern Europe extended from the Ural Mountains through North Germany to the Atlantic. From this plain, now occupied by the Celts, Teutons, Lithuanians and Slavs, they spread eastward (Cuno's Theory).

The exponents of the Central Asian Theory maintain that the Aryans originally lived in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea from where they spread fanwise and settled in distant lands evolving divergent cultures.

Arctic Home Theory

Shri B.G. Tilak, advocate of the "Arctic Home of the Aryans" theory attempted to prove from astronomical and other internal evidence of the *Rigveda* and the *Zend-Avasta* that the Arctic Region was the cradle of the Aryans. He held that *Airyana Vaejo*, the paradise of the Indo-Iranians, was situated in that region and when it was overwhelmed by an ice-deluge the people migrated to other lands.

The last theory, *viz.*, the *Sapta-Sindhavah*, has its greatest advocate in Dr. A.C. Das, who holds that the Vedic Aryans were autochthonous in the *sapta-sindhu* region because there is absolutely no mention in the vast Indian literature of any other Aryan home outside India. This land of the seven rivers, which included five rivers of the Punjab, the Indus with its western tributaries and the Sarasvati, according to the geographical data given in the *Rigveda*. was bounded in the north, south, east and west, by four seas, with narrow highland bridges on the east and the west. The northern sea was an immense inland sheet of water of which the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Sea of Aral and Lake Balkash are but remnants (Fig. 118). The geologists tell us that this Asiatic Mediterranean continued to exist up to the late Pleistocene Age. The three seas on the east, west and south were not the Bay of Bengal, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean as we find them today. There was a different distribution of land and water over the Indian sub-continent in those days (C. 35,000—25,000 B.C.). The plateau of Deccan with the Vindhyas and the Aravalli ranges was completely cut off from the *sapta-sindhavah* by three seas which ran into each other by

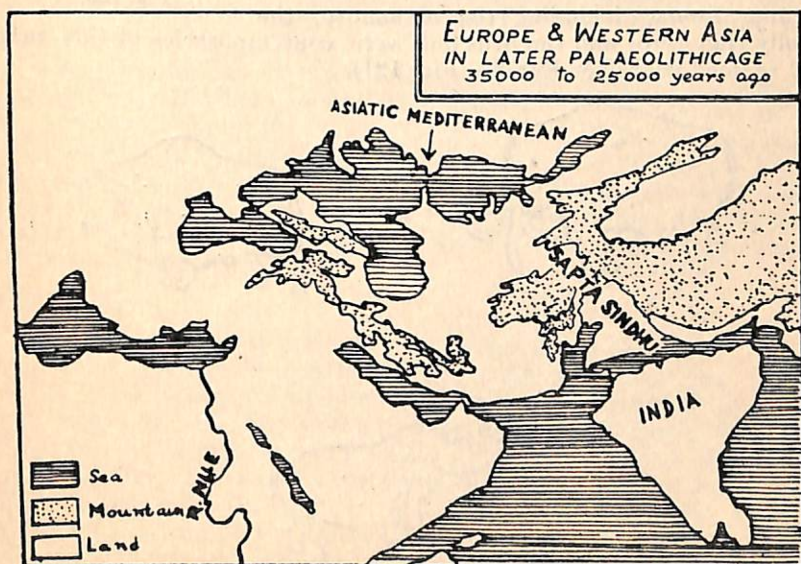


Fig. 118.
(After H.G. Wells)

bottle necks and looked an inland sea (Fig. 118). According to this theory it was from this land that the diffusion of the Aryan race started westward in a series of ethnic waves the earliest of them taking place some 25,000 years ago.



Fig. 119.

Human Types .

None of these theories seems to be sound enough to satisfy all requirements. At the end of the last Glacial Epoch (about 35,000—30,000 years ago) the Neanderthal subman (Fig. 119) who dominated the European stage for about a hundred thousand years, was supplanted by the sudden appearance of the true man (Fig. 120). The remains of this man have been found in the caves and grottos of southern Europe. They reveal two human types which the anthropologists call (1) the Grimaldi man and (2) the Cro-Magnard man. The former, a dolichocephal of Negroid traits, is supposed to have been the ancestor of the Iberian stock, while the latter, a brachy-cephalic of the Turanian type, was the ancestor of the Aryan-speaking race now inhabiting Europe. (fig. 120). The real culture of Europe began with the advent of the true man from outside. A peculiar fauna, including the mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros and the urus bull were contemporaries of this man and roamed wild over Europe (Fig. 121).



Fig. 120.

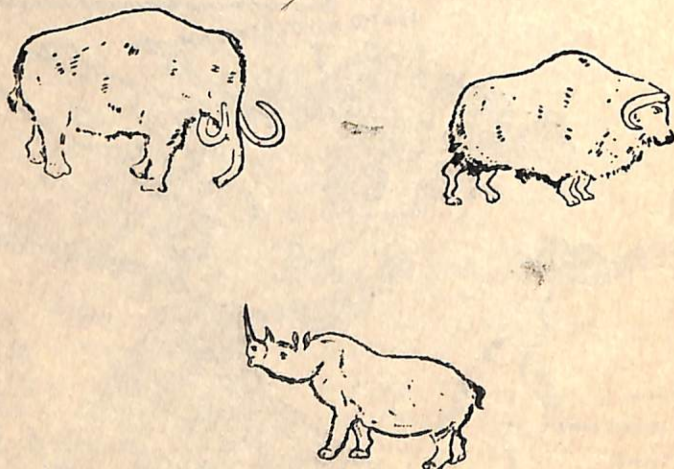


Fig. 121.
(After H.G. Wells)

The Central Asian Theory appears equally defective. Up till recent geological times (C. 12,000-10,000 B.C.) the whole of Central Asia was an endless expanse of marshes and swamps—the survivals of the dying Asiatic Mediterranean. At that time this tract was unfit for human habitation, much less for being the nursery of the vast Aryan hordes.

Tilak's theory of the Arctic Home of the Aryans also suffers from many drawbacks and therefore is unacceptable. The natural phenomena referred to by him such as the circling of the sun like a wheel round and round the earth and the constellation of Ursa Major rising directly overhead cannot be clearly made out from the Rigvedic hymns. The relevant texts are susceptible of other explanation and they have actually been interpreted differently by Vedic scholars.

Sapta Sindhavah[1]

The European descendants of the Cro-Magnard man, *viz.*, the Slavs, the Celts, the Lithuanians, etc. were of Turanian blood but spoke Aryan tongues. This is an ethnic riddle still unsolved. Let us assume that in late Pleistocene times the first wave of the Aryan migrants from the *Sapta-Sindhavah* settled for a long time among the Turanian savages of Western Asia. In course of time these Turanians, after they had acquired the Aryan tongue and such cultural traits as the latter possessed, would also have pushed westward and become settled in Europe as Cro-Magnards. This, according to Dr. Das, seems to be the only reasonable explanation of the riddle as to why the European people of Turanian blood came to acquire Aryan speech.

The *Sapta-Sindhavah* tract is admittedly the earliest life-producing region in India where animal life evolved in a continuous chain until man appeared on the stage. In the Sivalik Hills the remains of the man-like apes *Sivapithecus* and *Palaeopithecus*, who were probably related to human ancestors, were found. That this tract was the habitat of earliest man is also borne out by the palaeolithic implements discovered in the Sohan Valley, Potwar and the adjoining parts of North-West India.

India's Shape

Down to the latest geological epoch the *Sapth-Sindhavah* tract remained entirely cut off from South India by an inland sea (Fig. 122). Seismic cataclysms of later times caused the retreat of this sea and exposed the Rajputana desert and the Gangetic Trough (which later became 'Plain'). The Puranic legend of the sage Agastya sipping up the ocean dry and dwarfing the Vindhyas in order to reach South India preserves a fossil history of the Vedic times. There is no mention of the Deccan in the *Rigveda*.

1. The statements made in the nine paragraphs under the heading 'Sapta-Sindhavah' are based on the observations of Dr. A.C. Das as set forth in his *Rigvedic Age*.

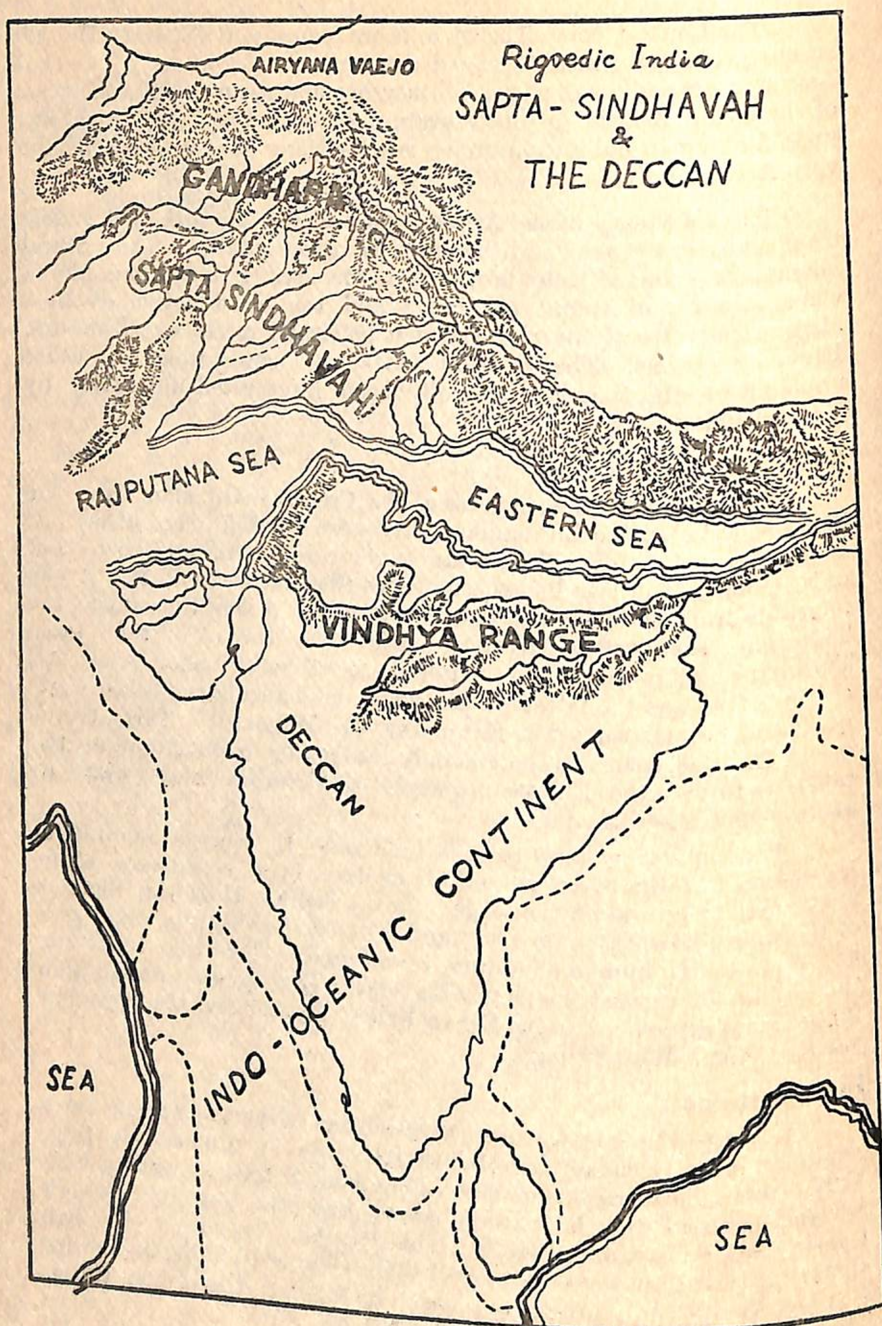

Rigvedic India
SAPTA - SINDHAVAH
&
THE DECCAN
AIRYANA VAEJO
GANDHARA
SAPTA SINDHAVAH
RAJPUTANA SEA
EASTERN SEA
VINDHYA RANGE
DECCAN
INDO - OCEANIC CONTINENT
SEA
SEA

Fig. 122.

Indra is not Indo-European but an Indo-Aryan god. Yet he appears in the Boghaz-keui record of the fourteenth century B.C. along with other Vedic gods. Had the authors of the record, *viz.*, the Mitannians, been Indo-Europeans on their way to India, as Prof. Childe puts it, Indra would never have figured in that treaty. If Indra could be dated to the 14th century B.C. the date of the older Vedic gods like *Dyava Prithivi*, Varuna, etc. would naturally recede to a far earlier period.

The story of Mathava, king of Videgha, related in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, throws interesting sidelight on the physical aspect of the country near Tirhut five thousand years ago. Mathava had originally settled on the Sarasvati. From this river *Agni Vaisvamara* went burning the earth eastward followed by Mathava and his family priest Rahugana till he came to the river *Sadanira* (modern Gandak) which he did not burn, showing that the sea at that time was in the vicinity of Tirhut. This implies 3,000 B.C. as the date of the *Satapatha Brahmana* and that of the *Rigveda* must necessarily be earlier.

There is a reference in the *Rigveda* to the vernal equinox being in the Orion (*Mriga*) pointing to the date of 4,500 B.C. Dr. V.B. Ketkar of Poona proved from a statement in the *Taittiriya Brahmana* that *Brihaspati* (Jupiter) was first discovered when confronting the star Tishya (about c. 4,650 B.C.). He also showed on astronomical ground that the Rajputana Sea which separated the *Sapta-Sindhavah* from the Deccan disappeared after 7,500 B.C. Dr. D.N. Mukhopadyaya pointed out from the *Vrishakapi* Hymn (*Rigveda* X, 68) that certain *Suktas* of the *Rigveda* were composed earlier than 10,000 B.C.

There are interesting relics of fossil history in the *Rigveda* which recall palaeolithic conditions of life. Indra's *vajra* was first made of stone and then of bone. The sickles were originally fashioned out of equine rib-bones (*asva-parsu*). There is mention of the dog as the earliest domestic animal. Dog is man's companion since palaeolithic times. The *Rigveda* says that Fire, the youngest among gods, was first produced in *Sapta Sindhu* by the sage *Atharvan* who also introduced his worship among the Aryans. It was the palaeolithic man who first discovered the art of producing fire by friction.

Wheat (*godhuma*) is first mentioned in the *Yajurveda* and the *Satapatha Brahmana*. According to Dr. De Cordalle it was first found in wild condition in Asia Minor and domesticated by the neolithic man in or about the 9th millennium B.C. The Indus Civilization knew wheat in 3,000 B.C. and the *Rigveda* culture which is totally ignorant of this cereal, should therefore be earlier than that. On this evidence, too, the date of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Satapatha Brahmana* should correspond with the Indus Age.

The Rigveda does not know the tiger. It is first referred to in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Satapatha Brahmana*. This animal is very commonly represented in the Indus art. Being a native of hot and moist climate, it originally belonged to South India, the Vindhyas

and Bengal which were cut off from the mainland in ancient times by an inland sea. When that sea dried up it made its appearance in Northern India. This also shows that the Indus Civilization should be later than the *Rigveda*.

Indo-German Theory

The Nordic theory explaining the diffusion of the Indo-Europeans from a common home in Scandinavia as expounded by Kossinna Schliz and Schuchhardt is the most attractive. The founder of the Germanist school of the Indo-European theory was Karl Penka who gallantly maintained that the Indo-European phonetic system was preserved in a purer form in Teutonic than in any other Aryan tongue. According to Prof. Childe the Germanist doctrine is the most comprehensive and consistent synthesis of Indo-European peoples that has ever been offered.

In order to pursue this theory to its logical end the antiquarians and the explorers have carried on a feverish hunt for the archaelogical and ethnical evidences calculated to prove the eastward march of these Nordic and Teutonic people from their original home. Some archaeologists have suggested that the Kassites who appeared on the north-eastern horizon of Mesopotamia about 1,900 B.C. were the advance guard of the great mass of the Indo-Europeans moving eastward. Others say the same thing about the Hittites and the Mitannians who appear in the 14th century B.C. concluding a treaty of peace as embodied in the Boghaz-keui record. Some scholars surmised that the Hellenic dynasts who were ruling in Greece by the 13th century B.C. were the vanguard of the Indo-Europeans. In the 15th century B.C. a new people made their appearance in the Po Valley among the old Mediterraneans of Upper Italy. Unlike their predecessors and neighbours they cremated their dead and deposited the residue ashes in cinerary urns.[1] These people, called *terramaricoli* by the archaeologists, are said to have been the ancestors of the Romans. At another place in Europe the short heads who appeared rather like a wedge driven between the short dolicho-cephalic of the Mediterranean lands and the tall dolicho-cephalic of the north have been claimed as Aryans by Sergi and de Morgan. But, as rightly remarked by Prof. Childe, cremation is not a sure characteristic of the Aryans. It can neither be shown that all Aryans cremated nor that all cremationists were Aryans. As an example it may be cited that Achaemenid kings, who were of the pure Aryan blood, were buried in rock-cut tombs and not cremated. There is express prohibition against cremation in the *Avesta*.

Ochre-Graves and Kurgans

In the region of Caucasus and South Russia the prehistoric graves containing contracted skeletons covered with red ochre were found. Over these graves were raised large conical mounds of earth (*Kurgans*). They have been termed ochre-graves and are supposed

1. Childe, V.G., *The Aryans*, pp. 68-71.

to represent the burials of the dolicho-cephalic Nordic people. In these ochre-graves the remains include the bones not only of sheep and cattle but also of horse, the typically Aryan quadruped. The limited quantities of grains found in the *kurgans* showed that the people buried therein were partly agriculturists. The ochre-graves have been found in thousands and chronologically extend over a long period of time. The most famous of all is a huge *kurgan* near Maikap in the Kuban Valley in South Russia. The people buried under these barrows were tall dolicho-cephalic, with rather low fore-head and pronounced supra-orbital ridges. The royal tombs in the Kuban Valley in Russia contained enormous masses of gold and silver. They are the tombs of chieftains who carried plundering expeditions in the rich plains of Armenia, Cappadocia and even Mesopotamia. Kossinna and most German archaeologists see in the ochre-graves and the slightly later chamber-tombs, called by the Russians the 'cata-comb graves' the monuments of warlike Indo-Germans advancing from Scandinavia and Germany towards Iran and India.

The Italian philologist De Michchi presents the cremators as radiating from Hungary and shows that all were Aryans. Some scholars claim that the brachy-cephalic Prospectors were the diffusers of the Aryan languages iu Europe. The typical vase of the Prospectors was bell-beaker and their graves were flat and not barrows. So they were a different people from the dolicho-cephalic people buried in the ochre-graves and surmounted by barrows referred to above. It has been claimed by some scholars that the diffusion of painted pottery in Europe was the work of the Indo-European Aryans—a hypothesis, which, according to Prof. Childe, is quite attractive, though vase-painters were not always Aryans. Vase painters possessed copper and domesticated the Asiatic urus (sheep) and the desert horse.

Amidst the bewildering mass of conflicting evidence it is difficult to arrive at any right conclusions regarding the *en masse* movement of the Indo-Europeans, and it only lands one in a maze of blind alleys where one gropes in vain for a ray of light at the other end. In every case the thread of evidence hardly carries us farther down than the borderland of South Russia and the highlands of Anatolia. The advance guards of the Indo-Europeans on the Russian side end with the ochre-graves and the *kurgans* while on the Anatolian side they end with the appearance of the Hittites and the Kassites. The threads of this entangled ethnic story are snapped here and do not reach even within a respectable distance from the borderland of India. Even here, that is in the borderland of southern Russia and Anatolia, the story of the Indo-European migration does not run smoothly. Many contradictory and anomalous factors crop up and render it incredible. Some of these factors are enumerated below :—

Prof. Childe observes that by circa 1,500 B.C. the division of *satem* and *centum* groups of languages had already taken place, and

1. Cnilde, V.G., *The Aryans*, p. 183.

from this fact we must conclude that the dispersion of the Aryans had begun by c. 2.500 B.C.[1] This discovery of *satem* and *centum* Indo-European languages on the fringe of the Anatolian plateau induced Prof. Sayce to propose the transfer of the Aryan cradle from Central Asia to Asia Minor. The latest of the ochre-graves are dated to about 12th century B.C. If these were the people who subsequently played the role of Indo-Iranians and Indo-Aryans then how is it that their traces are not found south of the Russian borderland ? In Iran no ochre-graves or *kurgans* with their characteristic contents have come to light pointing to their southward progress. If Kassites who founded their kingdom in Mesopotamia in 19th century B.C. were the vanguard of the Indo-Europeans, by which route did they reach Mesopotamia and where did they disappear after a century or so ? If they came to India via Iran there must be some corroboratory archaeological evidence in support of it. But there is not an iota of it. According to Husing Indo-Europeans entered Iran only during first millennium B.C. while they had dwelt together with the Iranians north of the Causcasus. Brunnhofer and others of his following argue that the scene of the *Rigveda* is laid not in the Panjab but in Afghanistan and Iran. We are prepared to agree with him provided it can be reconciled with other events that are said to have taken place at widely different dates.

How far do the Hittites represent the Indo-Europeans advancing towards Iran and India ? Writing about these people Dr. Hrozny says, "In the rocky plateau of Asia Minor there arose in about 1,900 B.C. or somewhat earlier a very powerful political centre created by the Indo-European Hittite people who seem to have come from the north."[2] According to him about four centuries before the Indo-European Hittites penetrated into this region there occurred an invasion of the Luites who formed a kind of advance guard of the Indo-European Hittites.[3] Again in his opinion the Indus Valley Civilization was of Hittite origin, and he claims to have even deciphered beyond doubt a majority of the Indus seals. These, as interpreted by him, contain the names of the Hittite gods, and goddesses like Nataya (Nataraja), Kueya, Shiya, etc.[4] He says that the Hittites seem to have come to Asia Minor from the north, but he does not specify the route via which they came and the monumental evidence and other relics they left en route prior to their entry into the land of their adoption. He thinks that the creation of the Indus Civilization was the result of the first wave of Indo-European invasion brought about by the hieroglyphic Hittites in the beginning of the second millennium B.C. Thus in his opinion the invasion of

1. *Childe*, V.*G.*, *The Aryans*, pp. 7-8, 20, 24 etc.

2. B. Hrozny, *Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete*, p. 3.

3. It is difficult to regard the Luites racially the same people as the hieroglyphic Hittites who appeared in Asia Minor about 1900 B.C., because the latter people looked down upon the language of the earlier inhabitants as of barbarians. Luites were therefore of a different racial stock.

4. Needless to say that these readings are all fanciful and not based on a scientific analytic method.

India by the Sanskritic Aryans (by which term he means the Vedic Aryans) was a later event that took place some five or six centuries later (so as to make it synchronize with C. 1,500 B.C., the conventional date of Aryan migration into India).

It is difficult to accept Dr. Hrozny's theory that the Indus Civilization was the product of the Hittites in the beginning of the second millennium B.C. The beginnings of this civilization antedate the Hittites civilization by about 1,500 years. Nor is it possible to think that the ancestors of the Hittites and the authors of the Indus Civilization were originally one people who lived together near about Caucasus and separated from each other in search of new homes. This is a mere assumption which needs a lot of corroboratory evidence to render it acceptable.

Nor could the Hittites be the ancestors of the Vedic Aryans. We knaw that the former were already settled in Asia Minor in the 19th century B.C. Now the question arises when did they march towards India from that beehive ? Not until the 15th century B.C., because in that case, they being of the *centum* group, should also have introduced the same phonetic system in Iran and India. But that did not happen. Iran and India remained for ever, and even now they are, the speakers of the *satem* group of languages. Not only that, the plateau of Asia Minor acted like a wall to keep aloof the two groups separate from each other for ever. In the 15th century B.C., on the very fringe of Asia Minor, the two people, the Hittites on the western side and the Mitannians and Hurrians on the eastern side of this imaginary wall, meet each other as representatives of the two linguistic groups and conclude a political treaty. Mitannians were distinctly an offshoot of the Asiatic branch of the Aryans and so were the Iranians and the Indians.[1] This also shows that no Indo-Europeans penetrated into India from the beginning of the second millenium B.C. to the 15th century B.C. from the direction of Asia Minor. Moreover, as Prof. Childe has pointed out, pigtails, high boots with upturned toes and the peaked cap were the characteristics of the Hittites. None of these features is specifically Aryan.[2]

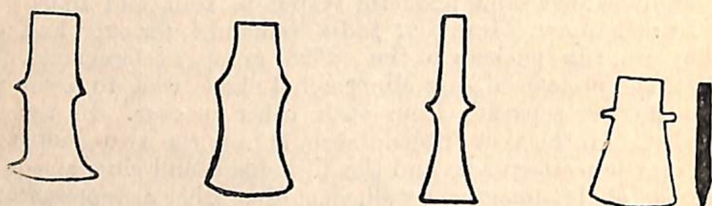
Further to assume that the *terramaricoli*[3] of the Po Valley who cremated their dead and deposited the charred remains in cinerary urns, or the Hellenistic dynasts of Greece were the Indo-Europeans who entered India in or about the 12th century B.C., would be utterly illogical and against all authentic archaeological evidence. Numerically they constituted small ethnic groups, not strong enough to force their way to India as their passage was blocked by powerful nations like the Hittites and the Assyrians. Besides India was already Aryanized long before the 15th century B.C.[4]

1. *Cf.* Sastri, K.N., *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 115-116
2. Childe, G., *The Aryans*, p. 68.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
4. Pargiter, F.E., *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (1922), pp. 300-301.

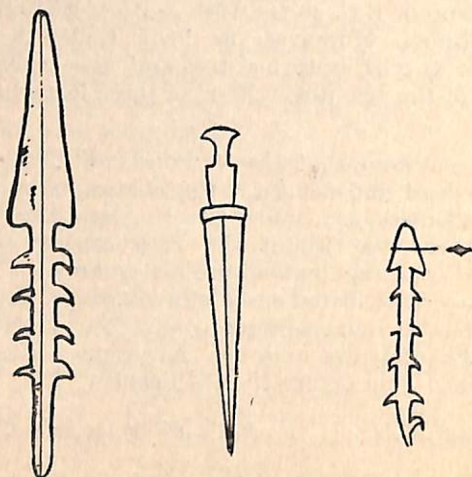
8

The Aryan Problem (II)

This chapter will be devoted to examining other evidence that has been adduced from time to time to prove that the Vedic Aryans entered India between Circa 1500 and 1200 B.C.



a



b

Fig. 123.

Stray Remains

The stray remains discovered in the North-West borderland of India have been interpreted by certain antiquaries as relics of migratory Aryans. They include the trunnion axes (fig. 123*a*), a bronze dagger (fig. 123 *b*/2), the antennae swords and barbed harpoons (fig. 123/*b*). Some scholars have tried to establish a genetic connection between these objects and those found in the prehistoric graver of Iran, Caucasus and Asia Minor, thereby suggesting the route followed by the Indo-Europeans in their march towards India. Being sporadic finds they can by no means represent a large scale ethnic movement.

Equally fruitless have been the attempts of some archaeologists to associate with the Aryans the post-Harappan occupational deposits at Chanhu-daro, Jhukar, Jhangar and Harappa. At Harappa the Cemetery H phase has been wrongly ascribed by Dr. Wheeler to the Aryan invaders. Recently a peculiar painted grey ware has come to light in the valleys of the Ganga, the Sutlej and the Sarasvati. This ware is confined to the *Kuru Panchala* region and does not extend westward. Not a scrap of it has been found in the North-West Frontier Province or in the adjoining borderland. The Archaeological expedition which visited Afghanistan in 1956 could not collect a single sherd of this ware there even after three months' strenuous search for it. The evidence rather shows that *Brahmavarta* was the original home of the people who produced the Painted Grey Ware.

Marshall's Comparisons and Contrasts

Sir John Marshall while drawing contrasts between the Indus people and the Vedic Aryans laid emphasis on the following points :- (1) The Indus people were urban who dwelt in well-planned and well-built towns and led sedentary lives, while the Vedic Aryans were partly pastoral and partly agriculturists who generally lived in villages ; (2) the former were quite familiar with the sea and took fish as their daily article of food, while the latter seem to have seldom seen the sea and abhorred the fish diet ; (3) the former worshipped the bull but not the cow, while the latter held both the bull and the cow sacred ; (4) no representations of horse have been found in the Indus Valley, but in Vedic times 'horse' was the most popular and useful domestic animal both in peace and in war ; (5) the principal cult object of the Indus Age was the Mother Goddess and female-worship the dominant element, whereas the Aryans worshipped male gods and the female element was subordinated to the male, etc.[1]

As against this it may be said that there is considerable evidence that would lead to the contrary inference. In this connection H.H. Wilson says with remarkable clarity that "the Vedic Aryans were not nomads. There are repeated allusions to fixed dwellings, and villages and towns, and we can scarcely

1. Marshall, John, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I.

suppose them to have been in this respect behind their barbarian enemies the overthrow of whose cities is so often spoken of". As regards the mention of the ocean the same authority remarks that there are unequivocal notices of it, so frequent and precise as to prove beyond doubt its being familiarly known and occasionally navigated. They also had the knowledge of drugs and antidotes, the practice of medicine and computation of the divisions of time to a minute extent, including repeated allusions to the seventh season as intercalary month.[1] The Vedic Aryans were well advanced in political science as indicated by the mention of Rajas, envoys, heralds, travellers and the serais. Further he observes ' the Hindus of the Vedic era even had attained to an advanced stage of civilization, little, if at all, differing from that in which the Greeks found them at the time of Alexander's invasion".[2] This is also borne out by their high literary attainments, by the degree of perfection in grammar, and elaborate system of metrical composition. Their astronomical computation and the adoption of an intercalary month for adjusting the solar and lunar years to each other also point to the same conclusion. Asvins are said to have taught Manu the art of agriculture and there is mention of hundred-oared ships (*sataritram navam*) and a naval expedition against a foreign island or continent (*dvipa*) is described as having been frustrated by a shipwreck. The Vedic Aryans were not only agricultural but also manufacturing and mercantile people. They followed the vocations of weaving, carpentry and smithy and fabricated golden and iron mail. In their towns or cities there existed centres of art and sciences and there were vices of the civilized life also. They produced golden ornaments, coats of mail, weapons of offence, metal works and musical instruments.

In view of the foregoing remarks of the great Vedic Scholar H.H. Wilson it becomes hardly justified to agree with Sir John Marshall that the Vedic Aryans were less advanced in the scale of civilization than the inhabitants of the Indus Valley. The former were also familiar with the ocean and the fish. Though the higher classes did not like fish, the people of the lower classes included fish in their dietary. The bull was commonly held sacred by the two people. Though the cow does not appear separately in the Indus age, it has to be assumed that, like the bull, it must have been regarded with sanctity. It is rather curious that in the Indus Art we do not find any representations of horse, though equine bones have been encountered in the excavations both at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. Strangely enough, not only the horse, but the camel and the ass were also unknown to the Indus Civilization, though at present these three animals are the most typical of the fauna of this region.[3] As regards

1. Wilson, H.H., *The Rigveda*, I, 22, 8, 15.

2. *Ibid.*

3. From the expression *saindhavo mahasuhaysah* occurring in the *Atharva veda* we know that in the Vedic period the Indus region was already famous for its good breed of pedigree horses.

the dominance of the female element in the Indus religion I have shown elsewhere[1] that like the Vedic Aryans the Indus people also worshipped male gods.

Brunnhofer, Husing, Hillebrandt and Wust have mentioned numerous instances proving that the Vedic Aryans reached India by way of Iran and that on their way they aboded some time in the frontier regions of Iran and Turan where they came in contact with the Parthians and fought Dahas and Parnians. Wust suggested that the eighth Mandala of the *Rigveda* was written in Mitanni during the 15th or 14th century B.C.[2] Ghirshman raised the question whether the latest inhabitants of prehistoric Sialk, the people whose dead are buried in graveyard 'B' might not have been the first tribes of Aryans to invade the Iranian tableland.[3]

Mr. Geldern says that traces of intercourse between Northern India, Persia and Transcaucasia from 1200-1000 B.C. have been

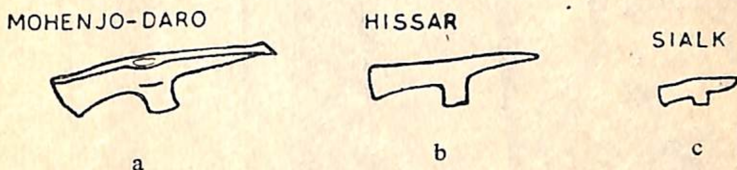


Fig. 124.

found in Hissar III*e* and Turang Tepe in North Persia. Copper forks, disc-headed pins, raquet-pin, double-animal—headed protomes and dagger or spearheads with stop and crooked tang-all found in graves belonging to Hissar III*e* period (1200-1000). An axe-adze with a shaft hole found in the upper levels at Mohenjo-daro (fig. 124) must have been brought to India between 1200 and 1100 B.C. Similar axe-adzes have been found at Turang Tepe, Hissar (in Iran), Assur and Maikap in North Caucasus. The interpretation of these finds as traces of a great ethnical migration and their connection with the Vedic Aryans, is as yet only hypothetical. Regarding Hissar III*e* Geldern observes that its inhabitants were certainly no Vedic Aryans. The earth-burial practised without exception and the complete lack of any signs of cremation, are sufficient proof for that. Again, according to the same authority, the trunnion-axe recovered from the Kurram Valley in 1913-14, the Panjab dagger, the antennae swords and the harpoon heads found in India at different places are of foreign origin. In his opinion it is not possible to say whether these five shapes were brought to India by trading intercourse or by an ethnical migration.

---

1. Sastri, K.N., *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I,p. 46.

2. Geldern, R, Heine. *Archaeological Traces of the Vedic Aryans* (Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. IV, No. 1, June, 1936, p. 105.)

3. *Ibid.*

Mr. B.B. Lal says that almost all hoards found in India are of pure copper, while the socketed axe, adze-axe, trunnion celt, Fort Munro sword and their associated implements are mostly of bronze. These hoards consist of flat celts (fig. 125*b*), shouldered celts (fig. 125 *a*), bar celts, rings (fig. 128), harpoons, antennae swords (fig. 126*a*) and some quaint anthropomorphic figures (fig. 127). The last mentioned

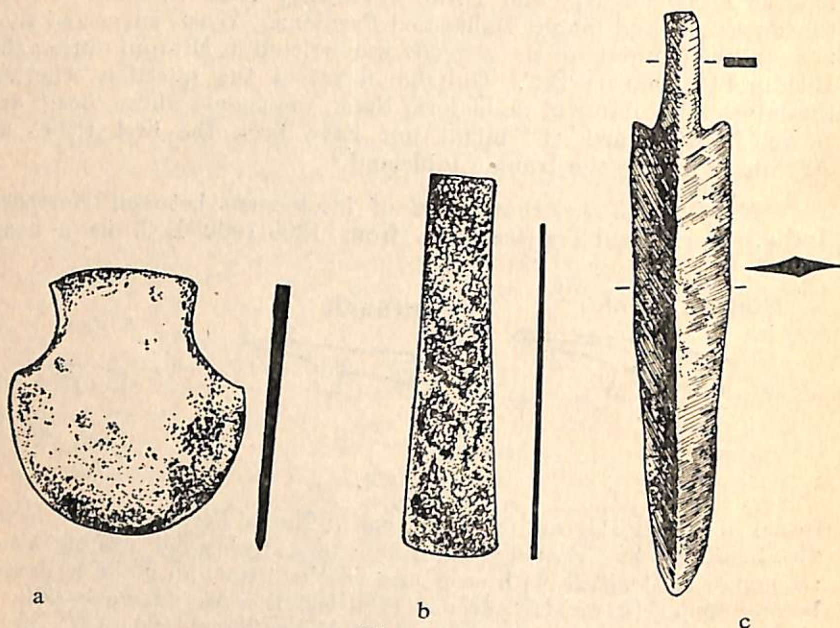


Fig. 125.

are found only in the Ganggetic plain and nowhere else in the world. Piggott thought that the copper hoards from the upper Ganga Basin belonged to the Aryans. The authors of these hoards occupied the Ganga Valley before the arrival of the painted Grey Ware people.[1] Recently, however, Piggott has modified his views. Now he reads in these hoards the colonization of the Ganga basin by refugees from the Panjab and the Indus Valley during the time of the break-up of the Indus Empire and the coming of the raiders from the west. According to his

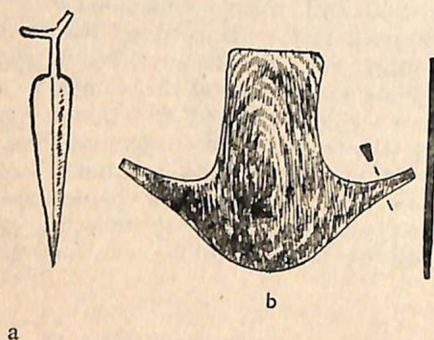
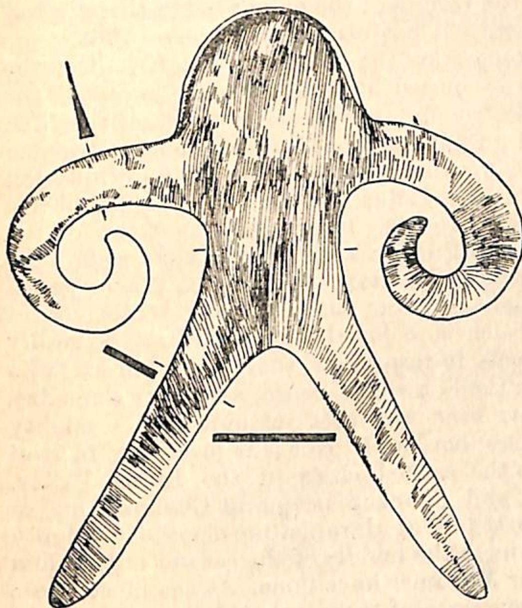


Fig. 126.

1. For my views on the Painted Grey Ware, *see* Vol. I, p. 114.

latest views on the subject the hoards are to be associated with the Harappa refugees and not with the Aryans. Mr. Lal wonders if they could be the work of the indigenous tribes of India like the Mundas, Santhals etc. and remarks, "But looking to the cultural equipment of these tribes at the present day one wonders if their ancestors were capable of producing the highly evolved implements some three thousand years ago."

An allusion may be made here to an article contributed by Col. Gordon to *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11. He agrees with Dr. Wheeler



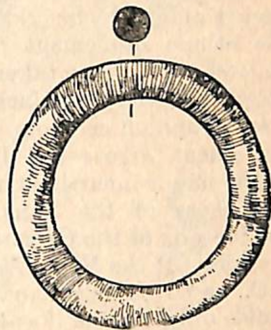


Fig. 127. Fig. 128.

in his view that the period of Harappa civilization falls within circa 2600-1500 B.C.[1] and makes it the keystone of his chronological structure. He thanks Ross and Piggott for firmly establishing the sequence of events and of the ceramic industries. The writer differs with Dr. Wheeler and Prof. Piggott regarding the chronology of the Indus Civilization which has been considerably under-estimated by them. For a detailed account of the writer's views on this issue the reader should refer to volume I of this book (pp. 66—90).

Some archaeologists, like Gordon, have been looking for the traces of the Aryan invasion in the debris of Jhukar, Jhangar and the Cemetery H at Harappa and also in the prehistoric cultures represented by Giyan II and Hissar III. Gordon also observes that

1. Alcock observes, "End of the Indus Civilization is dated nowadays to circa 1500 by Piggott and Wheeler. But the date may be as much as 500 years too low." *Antiquity*, XXIII, 201-5.

the Aryan or semi-Aryan tribes of *Turvase*, *Vrichivanta* and *Yadu*, who were located in the south-west and are called *Dasa* in one passage of the *Rigveda* (X, 62. 10) were descendants of the Jhukar people. In his opinion circa 1800 B.C. should be a reasonable date to start the 'Period of Invasions'. Dr. E. Mackay thought that the Jhukar culture overlying the Harappa levels throws light on the dark period between the decline and fall of the Harappa culture and the arrival in India of the Aryans.

Conclusions

Let me now sum up the results of the enquiry into the weighty subject of the Aryan Problem. It has been shown above that none of the Indo-European people like the Hittites, the Kassites, the large-headed dolicho-cephalic buried in the Russian *kurgans*, the *terramaricoli* of the Po Valley and the Greek Dynasts of the 13th century B.C. archaeologically fulfil the requisite conditions to become the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans. Nor can the stray antiquarian remains brought to light in the Indus Valley and the peripheral region of Baluchistan, Iran, etc., be interpreted as relics of the migratory hordes of the Indo-Eurpeans entering India from the North West. These finds are so solitary, sporadic and far between that it almost looks ridiculous to take them as representatives of the ethnic movement of such a colossal magnitude as is generally understood to have taken place in respect of the Aryan hordes who peopled the two continents. Could a single sword, a solitary axe-adze, a few trunnion celts etc. have been the sole reminders of a mighty movement across the Indian borders ? Nor is it justifiable to read in the minor incursions into the settled cities of the Indus Valley, like those of the Jhukar and Jhangar people at Chanhu-daro, or the inroads of the Cemetery H folk at Harappa the signs of a mighty invasion of the Vedic Aryans in the middle of the second millennium B.C., as Dr. Mackay and Sir Mortimer have done. At the most these could only be the local incursions of turbulent tribal people of the adjoining hilly tracts actuated by the predatory instinct of loot and plunder. It will be worthwhile to refer here to Mr. T.G.E. Powell in order to substantiate the above view-point. He observes and quite rightly, "It would be tempting to elaborate a commentary on these matters, but it must suffice to say that the evidence embodied in Rana Ghundai IV, Shahi-Tump, the Jhukar culture and the Cemetery H at Harappa, points not to the far-travelled Aryans, but to barbarous people from the periphery of the Indus civilization, who may have had a sprinkling of the Aryan leaders but who had become invaders on account of pressure on their own rear"[1]. He further states, "It seems to me that the close-knit socio religious communities who composed the Aryans of the *Rigveda* have not yet been discovered archaeologically". This is in a nutshell the true appraisal of our position with regard to the Aryan problem so far as the evidence goes. As to the Cemetery H culture, it has

1. Powell, T.G.E., *Antiquity*, No. 120, June, 1952, p. 97.

already been conclusively shown by me[2] that its authors could by no means be the Vedic Aryans—a theory which Dr. Wheeler and Prof. Piggott had been at great pains to elaborate.

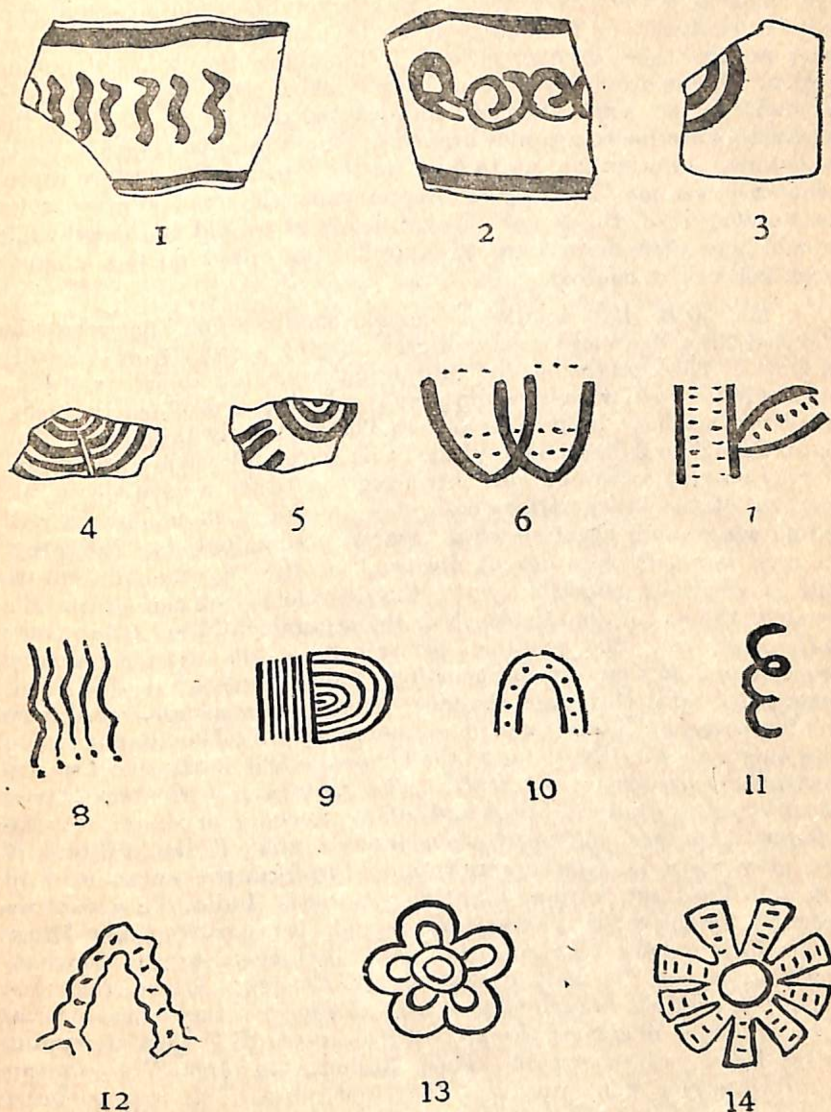


Fig. 129.

Motifs on Painted Grey Ware from Hastinapur and other sites.

1. Sastri, K.N., *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 74 75.

The latest development in the investigation of the Aryan Problem centres round the discovery of the Painted Grey Ware. This ware has been found in great abundance in the valleys of the Sarasvati and the Upper Sutlej Basin which roughly correspond to the ancient *Brahmavarta* tract. But beyond the boundaries of this tract it is also found frequently at other ancient sites that formed part of the holy *Brahmarshi-desa*[1] including the Kuru-Panchala region. Below the horizons that have yielded this ware has been encountered at some sites an ochre-washed dull red ware which the excavators ascribe to a junior branch of the Harappa culture. For a detailed information as to how far the Painted Grey Ware represents the ceramic industry of the Aryans the reader may refer to volume I of the work.[2] Nevertheless it would be worthwhile to add here a few more lines in amplification of what has already been said in this context.

Mr. B.B. Lal institutes certain comparisons between the Painted Grey Ware and a class of grey-on-grey pottery from Thessaly in Greece. The excavations in Thessaly have yielded about sixty varieties of potteries of which grey-on-grey is only one. Out of nearly thirty-five sites that have been excavated in Thessaly only three *viz.*, Messiani, Tsangli and Tsani have yielded this ware and the few specimens of grey-on-grey ware obtained therefrom constitute a very negligible fraction of the entire pottery collection in which monochrome red, red-on-white and black-on-white wares predominate.[3] The grey-on-grey ware came into use at the end of the Myceanean culture and is generally associated with the invaders who came from the north at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the 12th century B.C. However, the sporadic occurrence of this ceramic industry bespeaks not of a large scale incursion of alien hordes, but of a small scale tribal raid. Moreover, the few pottery specimens recovered from the three sites in Thessaly can be compared with the Hastinapur examples only superficially so far as the fineness of the fabric and the pigment of the biscuit are concerned. The paintings on the two classes of pottery are totally different and offer no common points of comparison. Another point worth considering is that if the authors of the grey ware in Greece were supposed to form the spear-head of the Indo-European hordes advancing towards India, how can we account for the earlier presence of the Indo-Europeans in Asia Minor in the 15th and the 14th centuries B.C. as evidenced by the Boghazkeui record in the Hittite capital Hattishash. If we take the Hittites an earlier branch of the Indo-Europeans their presence in Asia Minor is evidenced from the 19th century B.C. and, according to Dr. Hrozny, even earlier. Their presence in Asia Minor raises many questions *e.g.*, why did they not push their way to India earlier, and when did the differentiation between them and the

1. *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, pp. 135-146.

2. Sastri, K.N., *Ibid.*, pp. 109-117.

3. Wace, A. J. B., and Thompson, M.S., *Prehistoric Thessaly* (1912), pp. 13-21

Hurri (Mitannians) as belonging to distinct groups, *viz.*, the *setam* and *centum* linguistic groups, materialize ? This differentiation, according to Prof. Childe, had already taken place before 1500 B.C., a phenomenon which show that the Mitannians, like the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans, belonged to the *satem* group and were distinct from the Hittites. The presence of the gods Indra and Mitra in the Boghaz-keui record further shows that the Mitannians were not the fresh hordes of the Indo-Europeans coming from the west, in that case the inclusion of Indra and Mitra would not have come about. Indra is purely an Indo-Aryan god while Mitra is both Indo-Iranian and Aryan.

So in no case can it be proved beyond doubt that either the Hittites or the Mitannians or the Greeks reached India in the 13th century B.C. Our path is beset with insuperable choronlogical and ethnical difficulties once we tread upon this ground. Not only that, but the inclusion of the *daiva* and *asura* deities among the Indian gods mentioned in the Boghaz-keui treaty makes the problem still more complicated. The indication is that the record belongs to a time when the Indo-Iranians and the Indo-Aryans were still living as a single ethnic group. This precludes the possibility of the Mitannians coming to India in the 14th or 13th century B.C. via Iran and appearing in the Ghaggar Valley a century later.

So, from whatever angle the problem may be viewed no satisfactory explanation of the hypothesis that the Painted Grey Ware represents the sudden appearance of the Aryan immigrants on the Indian horizon is forthcoming. This ware is confined to the *Brahmavarta* and *the Brahmarshi-desa* (the Middle Country) and does not extend beyond its confines in the direction of the North-West Frontier Province or Baluchistan—the direction from which the Aryan invaders are supposed to have entered India after a long sojourn in the neighbouring region of Afghanistan and Iran. So far as this ceramic industry goes it appears that it was an indigenous handicraft and had absolutely nothing to do with outlandish influences. Let it be candidly admitted that the Painted Grey Ware with its individualistic decorative motifs is peculiar to the *Brahmarshi-desa* and so far it has nowhere else been found outside India. A few sporadic painted grey ware sherds having totally different structure and motifs, discovered either in Thessaly or near about lake Urmia (Iran) do not count much unless it is found in quantities large enough to be a suitable reminder of a mass movement as the migration of the Aryans hordes actually was. Let us think over the problem coolly and judge it on its merits without being carried off our feet by the romance of a new discovery in Indian archaeology.

Another material as also the most relevant point is that of the sixty sites explored or excavated by the Archaeological Department of India not at a single place the Harappa and the Painted Grey Ware cultures overlap each other. It shows that nowhere the authors of the Painted Grey Ware, that is the Aryans, came into contact with the indigenous people who were living at those

sites before their arrival. This is another chronological riddle that strongly argues against the authors of the Painted Grey Ware being Aryans. The latter had to go through the ordeal of a long and bloody struggles before they overcame their opponents who are supposed to have offered a stubborn resistance to the invader. In the *Introduction to the Hastinapur Excavations* it is said—"Unconnected that the Painted Grey Ware was with the relics of any previous cultures known in India, it is reasonable to suppose that its authors did not spring out of the Indian soil.[1] Who can say that ? As yet very little work has been done by way of excavation at those sites where Painted Grey Ware has been found. Further excavation at new Painted Grey Ware sites may reveal the nascent stages of this culture. After all we have to go by the tangible evidence at our disposal which unmistakably points to the Brahmavarta tract as being the focal point from where it radiated eastward and south eastward and eventually covered the whole of the *Brahmarshi-desa* (the Middle Country). Nobody grudges its being an Aryan industry, but in the face of the evidence available at present, its foreign origin remains unproven.

Hunt for Traces of Migratory Aryans

Another example of an all-out attempt to hunt for the traces of Aryan invasion of India is illustrated by Col.[2] Gordon's imaginary 'Period of Invasions' in the first half of the second millennium B.C. In his opinion this period which lasted from 1800 to 1400 B.C. brought the peasant cultures of Baluchistan to an end and finally wiped out the Indus Civilization.[3] During this period a culture, which he calls Periano III, was dominant in North and Central Baluchistan when the Aryan-led invaders swept in from Iran. To quote his own words, "Wid spread destruction, argued for by the consistent appearance of ash-levels in the stratigraphic sequence at a number of sites at what would appear to be a contemporary stage of their cultural history wiped out the painted pottery culture of Periano III and any surviving communities of the Kulli and Nal cultures." He further observes : "If it were not for the cemetery dug into the debris of a Kulli settlement on Shahi-Tump mound, in the Kej valley of Baluchi Makran, we should have but little information about these invaders." Thus from this statement it would appear that the authors of the Shahi-Tump cemetery were Aryans on their way to the plains of the Indus and the Ganga.

From Shahi-Tump he turns to the Jhukar culture. In his opinion the people of this culture, whose remains have been found at Jhukar, Chanhu-daro and one other place, could also be the Rigvedic Aryans. These Rigvedic Aryans, he surmises, compromised with the Harappans and made them their allies for fighting against some rebellious elements in their own ranks.

1. *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11, pp. 2-3.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-170.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

Next he refers to the two strata of burials encountered in the Cemetery H at Harappa which he calls Ravi I and Ravi II. He accepts the conclusions of Dr. Wheeler tacitly and seems to think that the authors of this cemetery, too, were a part of the vast hordes of the Indo-Europeans who first destroyed the Baluchi cultures and finally fell upon the Harappans and wiped them out. In support of his arguments he cites the discovery by Dr. Wheeler of the so-called walled gateway in the western fortification wall round Mound AB. I have shown elsewhere[1] that this minor gateway which was only 5 ft. wide where it pierced the wall was a secret subterranean passage for escape in time of emergency. The authors of the Cemetery H also have been associated with Aryan invaders.

The producers of the Jhangar culture which is characterized by an incised grey ware were an intrusive element falling within the chronological limits of the Period of Invasions. According to Gordon, these people also belonged to some Aryan clan and took part in liquidating the Indus Civilization. The painted pottery of Jhangar is a bichrome ware which, he thinks, was derived from Trihni, and may have influenced and been contemporary with the bichrome pottery of Phase II at Rangpur. A tentative dating given by him to Jhangar culture is 1200—1100 B.C.

Col. Gordon holds that these invasions which are represented by the finds from Shahi-Tump, Jhukar, Jhangar and the Cemetery H were the results of movements of warlike peoples exemplified by those whose remains have been found in the levels of Giyan II and Hissar III. "Such movements" he observes, "mark in fact the general unrest at the start of the second millennium B.C. which spread throughout all the countries south of the Caucasus from Anatolia to Elam and must be associated with the appearance of the Aryans upon the historical scene."

In his opinion the hymns of the Rigveda indicate that some of the invaders made alliance with the Harappans, and that originally Mohenjo-daro had friendly relations with Aryan invaders, but, later on, say about 1550 B.C. it was destroyed by these foreigners. The wonder is that the only trace of these invaders has survived in a single axe-adze and some human skeletons found lying in a disorderly condition in a street at Mohenjo-daro which have been taken as suggestive of a general massacre.

Col. Gordon, like the Vedic seers or Sanjaya of the *Mahabharata* fame, seems to possess a third eye capable of penetrating into the hoary events of the Rigvedic India with the authority of an eye witness. He imparts a dramatic touch to his narrative when he says unreservedly that 'the Aryans or the semi-Aryan tribes of the Turvasa, Vrichivanta and Yadus who were located in the south-west and are called *dasas* in a passage of the Rigveda (X,62,10) were descendants of the Jhukar people'. He further opines that these

1. Sastri, K.N., *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 72.

people fought against the true Vedic clans of the Tritsus and Srinjayas from the time of the battle of *Hariyupiya* which may well indicate Harappa. This conflict being kept alive by mutual hatred ulimately flared up into a major struggle described as the *Dasarajna* Battle in the Rigveda. In this deadly struggle the confederacy of the ten kings under the leadership of the Yadus and the Turvasa, was beaten by the Tritsus and Srinjaya under Sudasa.

Agreeing with Dr. Dikshit's findings on the excavations at Rangpur, Gordon falls in a line with him and affirms that the Rangpur culture belonged to a post-Harappa phase after the Aryans had appeared on the Indian stage.[1] Therefore, according to him the authors of the Rangpur culture also belonged to the Aryan invaders who supplanted the earlier Harappa culture.

He also mentions the Londo pottery found at thirty six sites and the cairn-burials associated with it. Iron was associated with the cairn-builders. They were a horse-riding people whom he connects with the folk who occupied Sialk VI level. It is not understood whether he associates the Londo Ware and the cairn-burials also with the Aryan invaders or not. His view has, however, been challenged by Leslie Alcock.[2]

After going through the reasoning put forward by Gordon in favour of the 'Period of Invasions' one feels convinced that there cannot be a clearer case where fancy has run far ahead of the facts. The main theme of Gordon is that during the period from C. 1800 to 1400 B.C. there was a great commotion in Western Asia from Anatolia to Elam and this upheaval was due to the appearance of the Indo-Europeans heading towards India. Consequently the archaeological finds attesting this general unrest found in the Second Period of Giyan and the IIIrd level of Hissar and the IVth Period at Sialk were ascribable to the incursions of these Aryan hordes.

The final analysis of the material evidence reveals that these new-comers whose graves have been found at Giyan II and Hissar III could not be Aryans for the simple reason that they practised inhumation and not cremation. How could these people after entering India suddenly change over to the practice of cremation and become cremationists as the Indo-Aryans actually were. Moreover the internal evidence recovered from Giyan II, Sialk IV and Hissar III shows individualistic characteristics and is distinctive in each case. Similar is the case with the material evidence recovered from Shahi-Tump, Jhukar, Jhangar etc. Each group of evidence, for example, the pottery, the art objects etc., differs from the other. Had they all belonged to the Indo-European group people moving towards or entering India at the same time or at short intervals one after the other, within the Period

1. Subsequent excavations carried out by the Archaeological Department at Rangpur have proved beyond doubt that originally Rangpur was a Harappan settlement and not post-Harappan as shown by Dr. Dikshit.

2. Alcock, L., *The Dark Age in North-West India* (*Antiquity*, June, 1952, pp. 93-94)

of Invasions, their cultural equipment would have been almost identical. Why should Jhukar pottery differ from the Jhangar pottery, or, for the matter of that, from cemetery H or from Shahi-Tump. These inherent variations show that genetically they were different people and did not belong to the one ethnic stock of the Indo-Europeans.

Another point worth considering is that this ethnic movement of the Indo-Europeans who were later on destined to become Indo-Iranians and the Indo-Aryans was of colossal proportions and not a small tribal affair. Such a mammoth mass of humanity halting and sojourning at many intermediate stations on their way to India should have left a correspondingly large amount of material evidence at those places. On the other hand what have we actually found to bear witness to that tremendous drama of human commotion ? Could a shaft-hole axe-adze from Mohenjo-daro, a few trunnion-axes from the Kurram Valley, a solitary dagger from Fort Munro, a few pieces of alien types of painted grey ware from Thessaly or in the neighbourhood of Lake Urmia satisfy the requisite conditions to be interpreted as symbols of Aryan migration ?

Comng to his second fixed point in the chronology of the prehistoric cultures of North-West India he follows the chronological pattern laid down by Dr. Wheeler and Prof. Stuart Piggott in respect of the Indus Civilization and the Baluchi cultures. According to Dr. Wheeler the overall dating of the Indus Civilization is C.2500 –1500 B.C. But, as the writer has shown elsewhere, this dating is erroneous and unreliable.[1] The actual dating as based on stratigraphical as well as material evidences ranges between the middle of the fourth and the beginning of the second millennium B.C.

Evidence of Rana Ghundai

It would be interesting to make here a brief reference to the excavation carried out by Brig. Ross in the mound of Rana Ghundai.[2] This mound is situated about eight miles to the east of the military station of Loralai close to the Fort Sandaman road. On the lower slopes and in the interior of the mound large masses of vitrified slag were encountered. There was complete absence of weapons in this mound and other sites of this type. The only metal objects that came out were confined to comparatively higher levels. Another noteworthy feature of the tumulus was that the occupation on this site was continuous from start to finish and the absence of any gaps in the strata places this conclusion beyond any possible doubt.

Pre-Bull Period

Five main periods were noticed by the excavator in the life of the mound. In the earliest period marked by Stratum I, that overlay the natural soil, were excavated the bones of domestic Indian

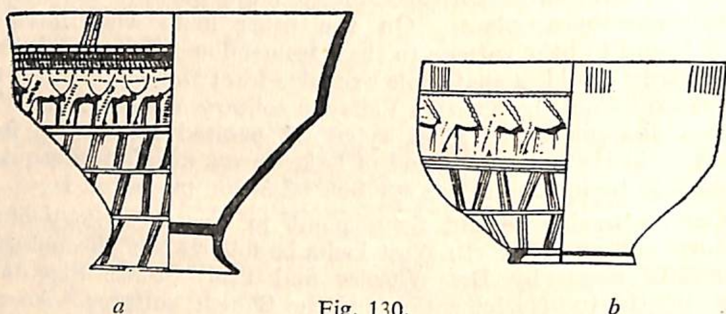
1. Sastri, K.N., *New Light on Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 70, 71.

2. Ross, E.J., *A Chalcolithic Site in Northern Baluchistan* (*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. V., October, 1946, No. 4)

ox, domestic sheep, ass, goats and horse. The discovery of domestic horse is very significant. The equine bones showed that the horse domesticated by the neolithic folk was a large-sized cavalry horse and not a small hill pony. This implies a long period of domestication. The earliest period in the life of the site has been styled the 'Pre-Bull Period' because no representation of the bull, so common in the succeeding Period II, were met with in the early phase.

Bull Period

Period II has been named the 'Bull Period', because during this phase a new people, having bull as their domestic animal and



a Fig. 130. *b*

bearers of a new and more advanced culture, had appeared on the scene. This phase, though not of long duration, was a highly developed one, both in respect of elegant pottery forms and very stylistic execution of the decorative motifs which mainly consisted of friezes of bull and antelopes (fig. 130). Period III was a long process of evolution in which finer class of ware was usually painted black and red on a light red ground. In Period IV the finer pottery bore no painting and the coarser ware was treated with an embossed and incised decoration. Period V was marked by a total absence of painted pottery ; only coarse, plain and embossed pottery was discovered in connection with this phase.

Thin layers of embedded ashes at irregular intervals gave the section a laminated appearance showing that the settlement must have been overwhelmed by a general conflagration more than once. Of all the periods No. II, though short, seemed culturally the most important. The pottery types of this period are of high class workmanship and reveal advanced technical skill which it was difficult to expect at this early period. The vessels are wheel-turned and the potter shows an exquisite skill in delineating animal forms with an extremely fine work. Ross thinks that the bull culture of Period II was introduced here fully developed as the evidence does not show that it had undergone an evolutionary process at the site. He further observes that the depiction of the Indian ox and the Indian antelope on the Period II ceramic would point to an eastern origin of this culture. Curiously enough, though convinced of the eastern origin of the motifs of the Indian ox and the antelope, Ross,

on the evidence of some pottery forms, makes Hissar as the place of origin of this culture. It is impossible to follow his conclusions. How



Fig. 131.

did the Hissar people come to use as decorative motifs these foreign animals in preference to the urial or the ibex (fig.131) which was native to their highland and which has universally been employed by them as a motif on their pottery.[1]

The other important conclusions arrived at by Ross as a result of his systematic excavation at Rana Ghundai are : (1) that through various periods of the site the life of the settlers was quite peaceful, since the excavation has yielded no weapons of offence ; (2) in the periods that succeeded Period I the inhabitants of the settlement used unbaked mud-bricks for constructing their huts, though more permanent building material in the shape of stone was easily available in the locality. According to Ross, this also showed that the mud-brick tradition was introduced from outside. This technique was first brought here by the alien people who migrated to this place in Period II.

1. Schmidt, E.F., *Excavations at Tepe Hissar Damghan* (1937), pp. 319-23.

9

Wheeler's Views Discussed

As stated above, in 1946 Dr. Mortimer Wheeler brought to light, after a brief excavation, the basement of a massive fortification wall round Mound AB at Harappa. A detailed report on it was published by him in *Ancient India* No. 3, the Departmental Bulletin. On the evidence of this brief operation, the significance of which he sadly misunderstood, he wrongly assigned a date from C. 2500 to 1500 B.C. to the entire life of the Indus Civilization. He also endeavoured to show that mature Harappa culture which suddenly appeared in the Indus Valley came in this developed condition from abroad. By implication he intended to convey that the Sumerian Civilization which flourished in Mesopotamia from the fourth millennium B.C. onwards obviously inspired the Indus Civilization in some mysterious way. However, a balanced and unbiassed approach to the subject in calmer moments seems to have convinced him later of the utter untenability of his conclusions. There are no notable cultural elements in the Indus Civilization whose origin can even remotely be attributed to Mesopotamia. The Indus Civilization stands in magnificent isolation like a stupendous structure of exclusively Indian genius and workmanship. This must have come to him like a rude shock and unpleasant disillusionment of his cherished theories. But a false position once taken becomes of necessity a matter of honour and prestige to defend to the last, especially for a scholar of international repute like him. Hence as an afterthought, there appeared in *Antiquity*, Vol. XXVI[1] from his versatile pen a paper under the caption 'Archaeology and the Transmission of Ideas', which is more in the nature of a long-drawn out apology to cover up his past misunderstandings than a well-reasoned exposition of the subject under reference.

Within the framework of his chronology (C. 2500—1500 B.C.) the comparison between the Indus Civilization and Mesopotamia are practically none, but the contrasts are many and too glaring.

1. *Antiquity*, Vol. XXVI, 1952, pp. 180-191.

According to his own admission, in respect of all cardinal characteristics comprising a civilization, the differences between the two were fundamental. In the art of writing, civic life, architecture, major arts and crafts, in fact no phase of human activity has anything to present by way of analogies leading to a generic or ethnic relationship between the two people. Mesopotamian writing of the time is cuneiform, while the Indus script is pictographic of which not a single sign can be shown to have even a mere semblance with the former. The civic life of the Indus people was of a higher standard than that of the contemporary Sumerians. The former were urban people with a higher civic sense and refined consciousness for sanitation as reflected in their well-organized drainage system, wells, floors, privies etc.

In architecture we find a queer combination of advanced and primitive methods in respect of details in the case of the two peoples. In Mesopotamia voussoir-arch was occasionally employed for spanning small openings, but in India the mason used the archaic corbel-arch for identical purposes. In Mesopotamia the round pillar had come into use, but the Indians knew only the square pillar. The monumental structures of Sumer and Mesopotamia were relieved by elaborate panelling and the use of variegated colours. But the structures found at Mohenjo-daro were severely plain utilitarian buildings without any embellishment, internal or external. In certain respects the architecture of the Indus Valley was of superior order. For instance the Indus people employed baked bricks measuring on the average 11 × 5.5 × 2.5 inches approximating in proportion to the British brick, namely the length of the brick being equal to the two widths and the thickness being equal to half the width, which was very suitable for bonding. But the Sumerian brick of the Dynastic times was an inferior plano-convex type. Another superiority of the Indus architecture was the almost perfect drainage system which is unparalleled in the whole of Ancient East at the contemporary period. A large number of houses in Mohenjo-daro were noticed to have been provided each with a privy upstairs or down—a feature that was again incomparable elsewhere. At one place Dr. Wheeler observes: "There is more resemblance between Mesopotamian *zigguret* of the 25th century B.C. and the Mexican temple-pyramid of the 15th century A.D. than between the former and the citadel mounds of the Indus Valley." In short, so different are the forms of expression in the two civilizations that it becomes impossible to institute any comparisons between the two.

Having frankly admitted all these fundamental differences and dissimilarities between the material manifestations of the two civilizations it would have been proper for Dr. Wheeler to have confined himself to natural conclusions and not to have allowed fancy fly ahead of the hard facts. It was unthinkable for him that the Indus Civilization being situated so close to Mesopotamia, could have evolved itself on independent lines. In his opinion the Indus Civilization being a thousand years later in date must have been

influenced by the Sumerian Civilization in some mysterious way. Frustrated in his attempts to find anything helpful in the material aspect of the two civilizations he takes shelter behind the doctrine of 'transmission of ideas'. He leaves the terra firma of material evidence which is the proper domain of an archaeologist and takes flight into the fantastic realm of philosophy for which he feels no compunction. If a hard-baked realist archaeologist like Dr. Wheeler, were to bid goodbye to factual moorings of archaeology and take a plunge into the dubious depths of philosophy then archaeology need not be studied as a separate science.

The main theme of Dr. Wheeler's arguments is that the authors of the Indus Civilization borrowed the ideas of the two essentials of civilization, *viz.*, writing and city-life, from Mesopotamia and developed them in their own way. But writing about the Indus script he says in the same breath, "that there is no mystery about the physical transmission of our own alphabet, for instance, from Greece to Italy, but there is every sort of mystery in the thought of the transmission of a disembodied idea of writing from the Euphrates to the Indus ; what is the answer ?" But being unable to find a reasonable solution of these contradictory phenomena, he, like the war time British Premier Mr. Winston Churchill, has nothing to offer in his helplessness except 'blood and tears'.[1] He tells the reader that 'intangible things such as ideas are dangerous and treacherous phenomena and, to an essentially materialistic science not very respectable'. He further states, "that the germ of writing was transplanted from Mesopotamia to India and was then reshaped there in a subtle manner by the genius loci, to emerge as the Indus script without detectable transmission and with no visual trace of cultural parental". How far such a reasoning is scientific I leave it to the serious reader to judge for himself. Materialistic sciences require concrete evidence, some tangible data to base their conclusions upon. But here is an eminent archaeologist, otherwise so meticulously materialistic and careful in details, building his theories not on firm ground of material evidence but on airy ideas. In archaeology, as in every other materialistic science, it is on the basis of concrete data that generalizations are made. But in the case of the Indus Civilization unwarranted ideal conclusions are being formed in the absence of even a shred of reliable evidence.

Elsewhere Dr. Wheeler again remarks : "Ideas are sensitive plants and often enough perish in transplantation."[2] As a piece of fine simile the expression is no doubt commendable, but as an archaeological statement it lacks both logic and conviction. In support of it he cites a few examples. Firstly, Fatehpur Sikri which shows in its architecture a harmonious blend of the Hindu and Muslim

1. In Dr. Wheeler's own words :

"Intangible things such as ideas are dangerous and treacherous phenomena, and, to an essentially material science not very respectable. I am afraid that my offer to the archaeologists smacks perilously of blood and tears."

2. *Antiquity*, Vol. XXVI, p. 189.

idioms. Secondly, how the idea about deification of the Buddha was borrowed by the Indians through Bactria from Greece and then clothed in an Indian garb to give it a material expression. Thirdly, how the Roman cultural elements penetrated in South India in the early centuries of the Christian era, but could not plant roots in that soil owing to unfavourable circumstances. Here in the first two instances the borrowing of the Muslim and Greek idioms would not have been detectable had there been no material evidence to bear witness to that. In the third example, too, it is again from the material evidence, such as Roman coins and pottery, that the archaelologists became aware of the Roman influence in this part of the subcontinent. Now, as to the question why in certain cases those foreign ideas planted their roots in the new soil and why elsewhere they perished for want of proper nourishment, it is for the archaeologists to analyse the causes. But the material evidence is the first essential on which an archaeologist makes generalizations and proceeds to build his theories.

His whole theory rests on the hypothesis that the Indus Civilization is later in date and that it came suddenly into being in a fully developed condition and therefore it must have derived its culture from the earlier civilizations of Mesopotamia. But being unable to produce material evidence in support of it he advances apologetically the plea of 'Archaeology and the Transmission of Ideas which, to say the least, is most unscientific and unconvincing. Writing about the city-life in Mesopotamia he remarks that in the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. we find in Mesopotamia the slow process of a village developing and enlarging into a large city. This evolution of a village into a city is not exemplified in the case of the Indus city of Mohenjo-daro which, he says, came into being all at once on account of a mature culture suddenly appearing in the land. He knows fully well that the lowest levels of the ancient city of Mohenjo-daro being under subsoil water are still unexcavated and the same is also the case with Chanhu-daro. Who can say that the water-logged portion of the city when exposed may reveal the nascent stages of the settlement amounting to a gradual evolution from a village to a city.

Elsewhere I have shown that the comparative stratigraphy of the two mounds at Harappa, *viz.*, AB and F, shows that the latter mound with its eight strata of occupations was about a thousand years older than the fortification wall revealed by his excavation round Mound AB.[1] In the light of the evidence adduced by the writer there remains little doubt that the origins of the Indus Civilization reach as far back as the first half of the 4th millennium B.C. This has been shown conclusively with the help of the stratigraphical as well as material evidence. For parallelisms between the Indus, the Sumerian and the Elamitic civilizations we have to go back to the fourth millennium B.C. The middle of the third millennium B.C. offers nothing by way of analogies.

---

1. Sastri, K.N., *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 68-69.

10

Parallelisms Between the Indus and the Vedic Cultures (I)

The Bull

Some animals were common objects of veneration among the Indus Valley people and the Vedic Aryans. Among such animals bull holds a very prominent place.

On the Indus seals there are, broadly speaking, three varieties of bull. The most conspicuous is the grand Indian bull with a prominent hump, powerful body, large curving horns and a flowing dewlap falling over the front hoofs (fig. 141). This noblest of the domestic animals is sometimes seen with garlands round the neck indicating that he was venerated and even worshipped. The second variety is a smaller humpless animal which was no doubt the ordinary draft animal yoked to the plough or the cart (fig. 132). The third is a short-horned well-built and fierce-looking bovine beast with a trough or manger containing propitiatory offerings lying in front of him. He appears to be the wild bull or bison (*gaura*) that was seldom domesticated (fig. 133).

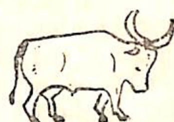


Fig. 132.



Fig. 133.

Though we do not have pictorial representations of bull of the Vedic times there are enough literary allusions to give an idea of its status in popular imagination of the times. The earliest allusion is in the *Rigveda* where the bull is compared to *Yajna* (sacrifice) and *rita* (cosmic Order)[1]. In the *Atharvaveda* it is

1. चत्वारि शृङ्गाः त्रयो अस्य पादाः द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महो देवो मर्त्यां आविवेश ॥
(*Rigveda* 1, 6, 2, 29)
See also T.A. Gopinatha, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 249-50.

stated that the bull supports the wide-spread earth and heaven and also the spacious air between them.[1] The same authority tells us that "bull, the husband of the kine, pierces the demons with his horns, banishes famine with his eyes, and hears good tidings with his ears."[2] The *Gobhila Grihyasutra* enjoins that the grand bull should be venerated and worshipped by anointing his horns, decorating with bells, burning incenses, offering garlands and providing with fodder etc.[3] In the *Manusmriti* the bull has definitely been compared with *Dharma* (Cosmic Order or Righteousness) and it defines *vrishala* (an outcast or *chandala*) as the one who deliberately destroys *vrisha* (*dharma*).[4] The Great Epic tells us that the bull-mark was the *rajanka* (royal emblem) of the *Barhadratha* dynasty of Magadha which came to an end about circa 727 B.C.[5] The kings who hoisted *vrisha* (bull) on their *dhvajas*, as those of the *Barhadratha* dynasty of Magadha, by implication claimed to be the upholders of righteousness or *dharma* which it symbolized. The same was also the significance of bull on the pillars of Asoka and of the bull emblem (*vrisha lanchhana*) of Rishabha, the first Jaina *Tirthankara*.

After the Indus period the pictorial representations of the bull are first met with in the Indian art on the punch-marked coins. The bull, alone or along with the elephant, occurs quite frequently on these coins. There is no doubt that certain Indo-Scythian kings also held bull sacred, perhaps out of respect for Indian sentiments, because the legend on these coins, both in Greek and *Kharoshthi* reads "*Taurus* and *Ushabha* (*vrishabha*)". Again on the coins of Mihiragula the White Hun ruler, the legend is '*jayati vrishah*' (hail bull). On certain coins of the Yaudheyas figures a bull before a *yupa*.[6]

---

1. अनड्वान् दाधार पृथिवी मुत द्या-मनड्वान्दाधारो-र्वन्तरिक्षम् ।
अनड्वान् दाधार प्रदिशः षडुर्वी-रनड्वान विश्वं भुवन माविवेश ।। (*Ath. Veda*, IV 11, 1)

2. पिता वत्सानां पति-रघ्न्याना-मथो पिता महतां गर्गराणाम् ।
वत्सो जरायु प्रतिधुक् पीयूष आमिक्षा घृतं तद्वस्य रेतः ।। (*Ath. Veda* IX, 4, 4)

3. शृङ्गाभ्यां रक्ष ऋषत्यवर्ति हन्ति चक्षुषा ।
शृणोत भद्रं कर्णाभ्यां गवां यः पतिरघ्न्यः ।। (*Ath. Veda* IX, 4, 17)

4. ऋषभोऽनड्वान् तस्य शृङ्गाभ्यङ्ग-घण्टाभरण-गन्ध-माल्य-यवसदानादिभि : सत्कारः पूजा कर्तव्या ।
(*Gobh. Gr. Su.* 3,6,11)

5. वृषो हि भगवान् धर्म-स्तस्य यः कुरुते ह्यलम् ।
वृषलं तं विदु-र्देवा-स्तस्माद् धर्मं न लोपयेत् ।। (*Manusmriti*, VIII, 18)

6. स्यन्दनेन महार्हेण केतुना वृषभेण च ।
प्रकर्षन्निव सेनाग्रं मगधश्च नृपो ययौ ।।
(M. Bh., *Bhishma-Parva*, 6, 17, 27)

It may be pointed out that the bull before a *yupa* also occurs on a sealing from Harappa. *Cf.* Vats, II. Pl. XCIII, 303

The bull which was the object of worship and sanctity in the Vedic times was obviously the grand bull termed *mahoksha* or *maharshabha*. In post-Vedic literature the same bull was called the *Brahmani* or *Nandi* bull. On the thirteenth day after the death of a twice-born (*dvija*), as a part of the obsequial rites, a bull branded with trident (*trisula*) was let loose. He was called the *Brahmani* or the *Nandi* bull because he was dedicated to Siva.[1] He could move about and graze in the fields freely and with impunity. Besides being a pedigree animal to augment the cattle wealth of the country, he was a living symbol of moving beauty and sanctity. It has been said that the bull wherever it occurs in early Indian art symbolizes Siva himself in therianthropic form. In view of the Vedic and early post-Vedic references given above it is more reasonable to interpret the solitary representations of the bull in early Indian art as symbolic of *Dharma* or *Eternal* Law that upheld the universe. Later on bull was associated with Siva simply because it was an emblem of righteousness which was a divine attribute. In the epic literature the terms *vrisha* and *dharma* are synonymous. Apart from the *Brahmani* bull the other two bovine varieties, *viz.*, the humpless small bull and the bison, are also alluded to in ancient Indian literature. The first is named *uksha, anadvan* etc., and the second as *gaura*.

Burial Customs

The evidence of burial customs recovered from the prehistoric Cemeteries R. 37 and H at Harappa, described above,[2] presents some notable paralellisms with the post-death ceremonies of the Vedic Aryans. The latter were no doubt mostly cremationists, but inhumation was also practised by them in certain cases. In the *Atharvaveda*, in the context of burnt offerings to the Manes, *Agni Jatavedas* is addressed in the following terms :

"Bring thou the Fathers one and all, Agni,
To eat the Sacrifice,

The buried and the cast away, those burnt[3]
In the fire, and those exposed"

From this it becomes clear that other recognized methods of disposal of the dead, besides cremation, were (1) burial, casting away (*uddhitah*) and exposure (*paroptah*). In early *Rigvedic* times both customs, burial and cremation, existed side by side, though the latter was the more popular of the two. From an allusion in

1. Gupte, B. A., *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*, p. XXVIII.

2. See pp. 1-61 *supra*.

3. ये निखाता ये परोप्ता ये दग्धा ये चोद्धिताः
सर्वांस्तानग्न-आवह पितृन् हविषे अत्तवे ।।

(*Ath. Veda* XVIII, 2, 34)

the *Asvalayana Grihyasutra* we know that while the verse is being recited, dust is to be scattered over the grave.[1] In a verse of the *Rigveda* (7, 6, 27, 10) the spirit of the dead man is asked to enter the Mother Earth.[2]

Asvattha

In connection with the burial customs as revealed in the Cemeteries R 37 and H at Harappa we have seen what an important role the *asvattha* tree (*ficus religiosa*) played in the eschatological beliefs of both the peoples.[3] The Vedic Aryans had equally strong sentiments for its divine nature and in its efficacy as a great benefactor of the deceased in the next world. The *Rigveda* mentions a tree beside which Yama drinks with the gods (10,135)[4] and the dead are spoken of in general as enjoying bliss under its shade in the *pitriloka*. According to the *Atharvaveda* (5, 4)[5] the tree is a fig tree where the gods abide in the third heaven. Elsewhere it is said that Yama and Varuna are the two kings whom the dead man sees on reaching heaven.[6]

In the time of both the cemeteries referred to above a goat, a sheep or a bull or cow was sacrificed and the dismembered limbs of the sacrificed animal were placed alongside the dead body. In one case some animal bones in the hand of the dead man were noticed.

We have copious referencers in the Vedic literature from which it can be gathered that closely parallel funeral rites were performed in the Vedic age. For example, as already pointed out, *Anustarani* cow was slaughtered prior to the cremation of the dead person and his or her body was covered, over *with the corresponding* limbs of the sacrificed victim, the face being covered with the marrow. The omentum, heart and kidneys of the sacrificed animal were

1. *Asv. Gr. Su.* VI, 5.
2. हे प्रेत !
उपसर्प मातरं भूमिमेता-मुरुव्यचसं पृथिवीं सुशेवाम् ।
ऊर्णम्रदा युवति-र्दक्षिणावत एषा त्वां पातु निर्ऋतेरुपस्थात् ।
(*Rigveda* VII, 6, 27, 10)
3. See p. 36 and 56-61 *supra*.
4. यस्मिन् वृक्षे सुपलाशे देवैः सम्पिबते यमः
अत्रा नो विश्पतिः पिता पुराणाँ अनु वेनति ।।
(*Ath. Veda* X, 11, 135,1,)
5. अश्वत्थो देवसदन-स्तृतीयस्यामितो दिवि ।
तत्रामृतस्य चक्षणं ततः कुष्ठो अजायत ।।
(*Ath. Veda* XIX, 39, 6)
6. प्रेहि प्रेहि पथिभी पूर्वेभिः-र्यत्रा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेयुः ।
उभा राजाना स्वधया मदन्ता यमं पश्यसि वरुणं च देवम् ।।
(*Ath. Veda* X, 1, 14, 7)

offered to the *Pitris* accompanied by the following incantation :—

"Carry on the omentum, *Jatavedas*, to the Fathers
where you knowest their resting place afar,
May streams of fat flow there, may their
wishes with all their desires be fulfilled,
(*Svadha* adoration)"[1]

Obsequial rituals detailed in the *Atharvaveda* record that a goat named *Panchaudana* was sacrificed in honour of the dead person to ward off the evil effects of *Nirriti* and to transport the spirit of the dead to the solar world (IX, 5,18).[2] In the same *Samhita* it is further stated that the *Panchaudana* goat is Agni, light they call him, saying that living men must give him to the Brahmana. Given in this world by a devout believer the goat dispells and drives away the darkness (*Ath. Veda*, IX, 5, 7).[3]

"Rise to that world, O Goat, where dwell the righteous,
Pass, like a *Sarabha*, veiled, all different places"

A text of the *Satapatha Brahmana* cited below in the footnote comments that goat is a collateral of Agni, because both sprang from the mouth of Prajapati.[4] In view of what has been said above I am inclined to think that the extraordinarily large goat figuring in scene *la* on burial jar No. H. 206*b*, depicting dead man's journey to the next world, looks very strikingly to be a prototype of the Vedic *Panchaudana* Goat. This latter goat being *Agneya*, that is having cognate birth with the Fire, is said to be capable of crossing darkest region intercepting the Land of Bliss.[5] Different limbs of the sacrificed *Panchaudana* Goat, like those of the *Anustarani* cow, were placed on the corresponding limbs of the deceased and the *Kravyada* fire

1. घतह्रदा मधुकूला: सुरोदका: क्षीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन दध्ना ।
एतास्त्वा धारा उपयन्तु सर्वा: स्वर्गेलोके मधुमत पिन्वमाना:
उप त्वा तिष्ठन्तु पुष्करिणी: समन्ता:
(*Ath. Veda*, 34, 6, 7)

2. अज: पक्व: स्वर्गे लोके दधाति पन्चौदनो निर्ऋतिं,
तेन लोकान् सूर्यवतों जयेम ।
(*Ath. Veda*, IX, 5, 18)

3. अजारोह सुकृता यत्र लोक: शरभो न चत्तोऽति दुर्गाण्येष: ।
पन्चौदनो ब्रह्मणे दीयमान: स दातारं तृप्त्या तर्पयति ।।
(*Ath. Veda* IX, 5, 9)

अजो अग्निरजमु ज्योतिराहु-रजं जीवता ब्रह्मणे देयमाहु: ।
अज-स्तमांस्यपहन्ति दूर मस्मिंल्लोके श्रद्धानेन दत्त: ।।
(*Ath. Veda*, IX, 5, 7)

4. आग्नेयोऽज:, अग्निना सह प्रजापतिमुखजातत्वान् ।
(*Sat. Br.* 2, 1, 4)

आनयैत-मारभस्व सुकृतां लोकमपि प्रजानन् ।
5. तीर्त्वा तमांसि बहुधा महान्तमजो नाक माक्रमतां तृतीयम् ।।
(*Ath. Veda*, IX, 5, 1)

was invoked to spend his fury on the goat and to transport the deceased to heaven without scorching him.[1] The kidneys of the *Panchaudana* Goat or *Anustarani* cow were taken out and placed in the hands of the deceased. This was to act as sacrificial offering to the Yama's dogs.[2] Let it be noted that in one instance among the earth-burials of Cemetery II some animal bones were found in the hands of the dead man. In the *Maitrayani Samhita* it is stated that the body of a goat combines in itself the physical attributes of several animals. For example, its beard is like that of a man, head of a horse, ears of an ass, hair like those of a dog; its forelegs are bovine, the hind legs of a ram. It is in fact a queer compound of various animal forms.[3]

One more remarkable feature of the funeral ritual of the Vedic time was that offerings of obsequial cakes (*pindas*) were made to the Manes or the spirits of the departed ancestors.

From an injunction occurring in the *Gobhila Grihyasutra* it is patent that collyrium and perfumes were offered to the *pitris* even in early times. The injunction runs as follows:

"Seizing again with his left hand a *darbha* blade (anointed with collyrium) he (the son) should put it down from right to left on the *pinda* pronouncing the father's name (with the utterance of *svadha*). In the same way he should offer perfume to the departed ancestors". Majority of the memorial jars were deposited in honour of the deceased by their kinsmen in the habitation areas of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. Their contents included among other things triangular or discular half-baked dummy clay cakes. Besides, in some jars roughly round terracotta nodules bearing finger marks were also noticed (Pl. XXIV, 4). It appears that these nodules were fashioned out of wet clay by repeatedly pressing them with hands which process left finger marks on them. The rice balls (true

---

1. मैन-मग्ने विदहो माभिशोचो मास्य त्वचं चिक्षिपो मा शरीरम्
यदा शृतं कृणवो जातवेदोथे मे नं प्रहिणुतात् पितृभ्यः ।।
(*Ath. Veda*, VII, 6, 20, 4)

अजो भाग-स्तपसस्तं तपस्व तं ते रोचि-स्तपत् ।
यास्ते शिवा-स्तन्वो जातवेद-स्ताभि-र्वहेनं सुकृतामु लोकम् ।।

2. अतिद्रव सारमेयौ श्वानौ चतुरक्षौ शबलौ साधुना पथा ।
यथा पितृन् त्सुवि........उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं मदन्ति ।
यौ ते श्वानौ यम रक्षितारौ चतुरक्षौ पथिरक्षी नृचक्षसौ ।
ताभ्या-मेनं परि देहि राजन् स्वास्ति चास्मा अनमीवं धेहि ।।

3. सर्वेषां वा एष पशूनां रूपाणि प्रति, पुरुषस्येव श्मश्रूणि,
अश्वस्येव शिरो, गर्दभस्येव कर्णौ, शुन इव लोमानि, गोरिव
पूर्वौ पादौ, अवेरिवापरौ, अजः खलु वै सर्वाण्येव पशूनां रूपाण्यात्मन्ऽवरुन्धे ।
सर्वाण्येव पशूनां रूपाण्युप तिष्ठन्ते ।
(*Mait. Sam*, 2, 5, 9,)

pindas) offered to the *Pitris* today by the Hindus bear a close resemblance to the terracotta *pindas*. In the Cemetery R 37, which was coeval with the habitation areas, in certain graves mother-of-pearl shells, spoons intended for containing eye-paints and some cosmetics along with tanged bronze mirrors were unearthed. One earth-burial yielded two tiny gold ear-rings. The *Hiranvakesin Grihyasutra* informs us that the gold ear-rings, named *viraj* and *svaraj*[1], were worn by people of higher classes. The same *Grihyasutra* further states that after uttering *svadha* to the fathers who dwell in heaven, he (the son) gives corresponding to each lump (*pinda*) collyrium and other slava and something that represents a garment, sprinkles water from right to left round the *pindas* with the following *mantra*[2].

"These honey-sweet waters giving sweet drink and ambrosia to the Fathers, the divine waters refresh both (the living and the dead), these rivers abounding in water, covered with reeds, with beautiful bathing places, may flow up to you in yon world".

From the discoveries made in the Cemeteries R 37 and H it has become clear that the contemporary people believed in the permanence and indestructibility of the essence of human existence that survived the final dissolution of the gross body. They also held that this subtle body under certain conditions travelled to the higher spheres to gain access into the Land of Bliss which was *par excellence* the Solar World [3]

In this respect the Vedic analogies are still closer. Let me, however, point out at the outset that in the Rigveda there is no special mention of the Hades (*Naraka*). In those times Yama was conceived not as a terrible god, put pacific and benevolent. His region was bright, resplendent and full of bliss and those who departed there assumed luminous bodies and lived in great happiness.[4] But as far as the *Atharvaveda* and the *Katha Upanishad* are concerned, belief in hell is beyond doubt and its torments are also once described in the *Atharvaveda* and with greater detail in the *Satapatha Brahmana*. In the *Rigveda*, too, the human body is supposed to possess an unborn and undecayable essence, probably the soul, not liable to be consumed by fire. But it is in the *Atharvaveda* (X, 5, 1) that we find that before it could complete its course from earth to the third heaven, it had to traverse a vast gulf of darkness[5]. In the *Rigveda* (X, 16, 3) the soul is spoken of as going

1. Hir, *Kes. Gr.* Su.
2. घृतह्रदा मधुकुल्याः सुरोदकाः क्षीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन दध्ना
   एतास्त्वा धारा उपयन्तु सर्वाः स्वर्गे लोके मधुमत् पिन्वमानाः
   उप त्वा तिष्ठन्तु पुष्करिणीः समन्ताः ॥
3. For details see pp. 36 *supra*
4. Das, A.C., *Rigvedic Culture*, p, 402
5. आनयैन मारभस्व सुकृतां लोकमपि गच्छतु प्रजानन् ।
   तीर्त्वा तमांसि बहुधा महान्त्यजो नाकमाक्रमतां तृतीयम् ॥
   (*Ath. Veda*, IX, 5, 1)

to the waters, in the plants—a conception which perhaps contains the germ of the theory of metempsychosis. There is no doubt that the theory of retribution and transmigration which in the later Vedic literature and the *Puranas* became highly elaborated was already adumbrated in the last *Mandala* of the *Rigveda*. The *Brahmanas* and the *Upanishads* would not have dared to evolve a novel theory that did not carry in one form or the other the sanction of the *Rigveda*, the fountain head of all subsequent sacred literature.

A funeral hymn of the *Rigveda* tells us that at the final dissolution of the human body the eye merged into the sun, the breath into the wind, soul went either to heaven or watər, according to its merits, or it abided in the plants[1].

In the pictorial scenes of the dead man's journey to the next world, as depicted on the burial jars trom Cemetery H I, we have seen the final goal of this journey, viz., the Land of Bliss, resplendent with luminous bodies — the stars and the solar orbs. There are also streams af running water, majestic shady trees, plants and water tanks. In two instances lotus plants are also associated with the spirit of the dead (*Preta*). It has also been shown in some detail that the Land of Bliss was no other than the Solar World (*Surya-loka*) where the soul of the dead man gained access through the instrumentality of the peacock the bull, the *pipal* tree and the lotus plant– which in turn were all associated with the sun in one way or the other[2].

All these funeral conceptions are fairly well embodied in the works of the early Indian literature. In connection with the *tarpana* (water offering) to the *Manes* a versa of the *Atharvaveda* says :

> "Abundant with their overflow of sweetness, these streams shall reach thee in the World of *Svarga*. Whole lakes with lotus blossom shall approach thee.[3]

As regards the access to the Solar World there are clear references to the righteous persons attaining those resplendent regions by virtue of their good actions in this world. A *Rigvedic* verse addressed to the spirit of the dead says :

> "O *Preta* ! let thou also attain to those radiant solar spheres where the lucky people who perform many sacrifices like

---

1. सूर्यं चक्षुषा गच्छ वात मात्मना दिवं च गच्छ पृथिवीं च धर्मभि : ।
अथोवा गच्छ यदि तत्र ते हित-मोषधीषु प्रतितिष्ठां शरीरै: ।।

2. See also pp. 36 and 37 above.

3. एता स्त्वा धारा उपयन्तु सर्वा : स्वर्गे लोके मधुमत् पिन्वमाना:
उप त्वा तिष्ठन्तु पुष्करिणी: समन्ता:

(Arth. *Veda*, IX, 34, 6-7)

agnihotra find asylum".[1]

Apropos the description of the paintings on burial jar No. H 206 *b* it was stated that the hybrid spirit of the dead man is carrying in one hand, besides the cord, the bow and arrow (Fig. 134)

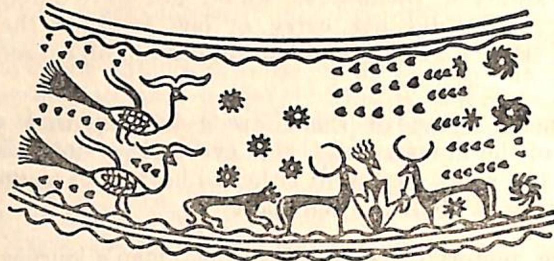


Fig. 134.

showing that the dead man belonged to a martial class. According to the funeral practices current in the Rigvedic times a *kshatriya* was carried to the cremation ground armed with bow and arrow. But before he was cremated the bow and arrow was taken away from his hands by his brother or the next kin.[2]

It has also been seen in the same funeral scene that a hound is attacking one of the bovine animals standing on either side of the spirit (*Preta*). This hound is evidently the watch dog guarding passage to the next world.[3] In the Vedic literature are to be encountered two Yama's dogs, named *Sabala* and *Karbura*, whose function was to guard the roads leading to heaven. Each of them is described as having four eyes. In the *Taittiriya Samhita* also it is stated in connection with the horse sacrifice (*asva-medha*), that the dog of the four eyes was among the victims slain at the Horse Sacrifice. The commentator Harisvamin explains that the dog of the four eyes in fact meant a dog which had under each real eye a whitish eye-shaped mark. Such dogs were regarded as possessing

1. सहस्रणीथा: कवयो ये गोपायन्ति सूर्यम् ।
ऋषीन् तपस्वतो यम तपोजाँ अपि गच्छतात् ॥

(*Rigveda VIII*, 8, 12)

टीका—सहस्रेण बहुभि-रग्निहोत्रादिभिः नीथाः
नीताः प्रापिताः ये (कवयः) सूर्य गोपायन्ति ततस्तनोतां गताः
तान् ऋषीन् तपसो जातान् त्वमपि गच्छ हे यम ! प्रेत !

2. धनुर्हस्तादिति क्षत्रियस्य हस्ताद् धनुरादते ।
धनुर्हस्तादाददानो मृतस्यास्मे क्षत्राय वर्चसे बलाय ।
अत्रैव त्वमिह वयं सुवीरा विश्वास्पृधो अभिमाती-र्जयेम ॥
अत्रैव त्वमिह वयं सुवीरा विश्वास्पृधो अभिमाती-र्जयेम ।

(*RV*. VII, 27, 9)

3. See. p. 13 *supra*

an exceptionally powerful body and extreme ferocity.[1]

Peacock

The peacock occurs as a common decorative motif on the household pottery from the habitation areas at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.[4] There is no doubt that this bird was considered auspicious by the Indus people and directly or indirectly it was associated with the sun. The authors of the Cemeteries R 37 and H also considered the peacock *par excellence* the sun-bird. It was invested with the miraculous power of transporting the metamorphosed subtle body of the dead person to the Solar World or to help it as a guide to cross the mighty gulf of darkness that beset the path leading to the Land of Bliss.

Now let us see what part did it actually play in the estimation of the people of the Vedic as well as of the post-Vedic age. In the Rigvedic times, too, peacock was looked upon as a bird of unrivalled beauty. Some verses of the *Rigveda Samhita* describe Indra's horses as *mayura-roman*, that is with hair like peacock's feathers, and *mayura-sepya*, that is having tails like those of a peacock's plume. In the same *Samhita* the twentyone varieties of peahens are mentioned and said to possess the occult power of detecting and counteracting the poison.[2] The peacock likewise appears in the list of victims of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice in the *Yajurveda Samhita*. Perhaps in *Asvamedha* sacrifice, too, the peacock was to facilitate the horse's journey to heaven. It may be assumed that peacock was also sacrificed by the Indus people to accompany the dead man to the next world. In the Atharvaveda a charm against the scorpion posion relates how the peahens tear and mangle this arthropod and destroy its poisonons effects.[3]

The peacock is also associated with the sun in ancient Indian literature. Earliest tangible representation of peacock in Indian

---

1. यौ श्वानौ यम रक्षितारौ चतुरक्षौ पथिरक्षी नृचक्षसौ ।
तामयामेनं परिदेहि राजन् स्वस्ति चास्मा अनमीवं धेहि ।।

(RV., VII, 6, 16, 11)

श्वानं चतुरक्षं हत्वाऽधस्पदश्चस्योपप्लावति
यस्याक्षि समीपे द्वे पौण्ड्रे अक्षिरूपवत्
दिक्कोणके स चतुरक्षः श्वा ।

(*Sat. Br.*, 13, 1, 2)

(Harisvamin's Commentory.)

See also P. 36 *supra*.

2. त्रिःसप्त मयूर्यः सप्त स्वसारो अग्रुवः ।
तास्ते विषं वि जभ्रिर उदकं कुम्भिनीरिव

(*RV.*, 1. 24, 12, 14)

3. अदन्ति त्वा पिपीलिका वि वृश्चन्ति मयूर्यः ।
सर्वे भल ब्रवाथ शार्कोट-मरसं विषम् ।।

(*AV.*, VII, 56, 7)

art occours on punch-marked coins in the form of peacock-on-hill motif (fig, 135).[1] Being the mount (*vahana*) of Kumara, the god of war, the six-headed son of Siva, the peacock is held sacred in India. In some parts of Maharashtra it is also the mount of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning. Cock as well as peacock is the special emblem of Karttikeya. Hence Karttikeya is also known as *Barhiketu*. A particular class of Yaudheya coins shows Kumara accompanied by a peacock.


Fig. 135.

In India the peacock is the totem of the Jats and Khonds, and in the Punjab snake-bites are cured by smoking peacoks feathers in a pipe. The feathers of the bird are also waved over the sick to scare away demons and disease, and are tied on the ankles to cure wounds.[2] Its feathers are largely used in making *morchal* ornaments accepted as signs of royality. Krishna had his crown or head-dress decorated with peacock's feathers. In some countries in the west it foretells death, but in India peacock is an auspicious bird.[3]

In ancient times the Greeks and the Romans held peacock sacred. In Rajasthan it is considered sacrilege to kill a peacock. *Morchals* made of long feathers of pecock are used for waving over the heads of deities and kings and other potentates.

Lotus

Association of the lotus with the spirit of the dead man (*Preta*) journeying to the Solar World has already been referred to above.[4] It was regarded *par excellence* a solar plant in the Indus age and the tradition of its association with the sun appears to have been one of the many legacies inherited by the later people who followed in their wake. It is also noteworthy that several seed vessels of lotus in faience have been recovered from the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro (fig. 136.).[5] According to Dr. Coomaraswamy, at a relatively early date the lotus may have represented Brahma, for he is the successor of Prajapati, who is born of the waters.[6] The *Satapatha Brahmana*, identifies the lotus with the waters when it says :


Fig. 136.

"From this lotus Atharvan churned thee (Fire) forth, The lotus doubtless means the waters".

1. Allan, J., *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, P. XXV
2. *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics* (see under 'Animals')
3. Gupte, B.A., *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonies*. p, XXVIII
4. See page 26 above
5. Marshall, M. I. C., Vol. III Pl. CLVIII, 4, 6,
6. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Yakshas*, Part II,p. 29

The lotus also represents the Tree of Life. This cosmic tree which sprang originally from the navel of Varuna bearing deities within its branches.[1] Apart from this the lotus is a symbol of purity. Its leaf is not affected by the water on which it rests during its entire life (*pushkara-palasa-van-nirlepah*) nor is its flower tainted by the mud from which it takes its birth. Lotus is also a symbol of wealth as illustrated in the *padma-nidhi* (lotus-treasure) of Kuvera. But these conceptions of purity and wealth belong to a later cycle of ideas[2]. Lotus is also supposed to have some medicinal properties. The *Apastamba Grihyasutra* enjoins[3] that if a wife is affected with consumption or is otherwise sick, one should rub her limbs with young lotus leaves which are still rolled up and also with lotus roots. In the *Yoga* and the *Mimamsa* systems of philosophy 'full blown lotus' is often symbolic of the manifested form of Prakriti (*vyakrita-Prakriti*).

As regards its association with the sun some allusions have already been made in the context of the burial scenes on the funeral pottery from Cemetery H[4]. Some sort of sympathetic or mystic connection does actually exist between the sun and the lotus. Ancient Indian literature abounds with allusions to the blossoming of the lotus forest (*Kamala-vana*) at the first flash of the morning light (*ushas*) and closing down at the sunset. The *Puranas* lay down rules for the execution of a twelve petalled lotus, on different petals of which figures of different aspects of the sun-god are to be placed with the god *Bhaskara* in the central pericarp (*karnika*).[5]

The Sun

Among the paintings on the funeral pottery from the Cemetery H there are numerous representations of the rayed and cirumscribed solar orbs which, interpreted in the context of the dead man's journey to the next world, definitely point to the Solar World as the Land of Bliss, the ultimate goal of the dead man's journey (figs. 32, 57-59).

Let us now see how the sun or the solar world was conceived by the Vedic and the post-Vedic Indians. In the *Rigveda* the sun is conceived as a mythical bird having beautiful wings (*suparna-garutmat*) and Vishnu is said to be one of the twelve *Adityas*. Later on the mythical bird Garutmat became associated with Vishnu as his mount (*Vahana*).[6] In the *Rigveda* the sun is also described as

---

1. Coomaraswamy, *Ibid.*, p. 57
2. *Ibid.*, p. 57
3. *Apastamba Grihyasutra* (Sacred Books of the East Series), p. 270
4. For details see p. 37 *supra*
5. उपलिप्य शुचौ देशे सूर्यं तत्र समर्चयेत् ।
   संलिखेतात्र पद्मं तु द्वादशास्त्रं सकर्णिकम् ॥
   (*Hemadri, Chaturvarga Chintamani, Vrata-Khanda*)
6. Bannerjee, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, P. 61

remover of poison.[1] In the *Purushasukta* of the tenth *Mandala* of the *Rigveda Surya*, conceived as a bird traversing space, is said to have arisen from the eye of the world-giant (*Virat-Purusha*).[2]

In the *Satapatha Brahmana* Prajapati is identified not only with the solar orb, but with the man (*Purusha*) residing the sun, the real shedder of light and life.[3] This very *Aditya-Purusha* residing in the solar disc has his abode in the eyes of every individual and is termed as *Chakshusha-Purusha* imparting vision to every living being.[4] According to Kumarirla, Prajapati is the name of the sun and he is so called because he protects all creatures. The *Atharvaveda* speaks of a solar wheel on which all living creatures depend.[5]

"Forward with twelve spokes, too strong for age to weaken,
This wheel of during Order rolls round heaven".

In the same *Samhita* the sun is compared to an all-knowing brilliant detective before whom the constellations pass away like thieves, departing in the night.[6]

In connection with the construction of the Fire Altar the *Satapatha Brahmana* says that the solid gold man (*Vastu Purusha*) laid down below the centre of the first layer on a gold plate representing the sun, is no other than *Agni Prajapati* and the sacrifice.

---

1. I recite the names of 99 (rivers), the destroyers of poison, although afar off (the sun), drawn by his coursers, will overtake the poison, the series of antidotes has converted thee (poison), to ambrosia. (*RV*. 1, 24, 12, 13)

2. चन्द्रमा मनसोजात-श्चक्षोः सूर्यः मुखाद्-इन्द्रश्च
अग्निश्च प्राणाद वायु-रजायत ।
(*Rig*. V., X, Purusha-Sukta)

3. अय-मादित्यः सर्वेषा म्भूतानां मध्वस्यादित्यस्य सर्वाणि
भूतानि मधु यश्चाय मस्मिन्नादित्ये तेजोमयोऽमृतमयः
पुरुषो यश्चाय-मध्यात्म ञ्चाक्षुष-स्तेजोमयः पुरुषोऽयमेव
योय-मादित्येद-मसृतमिदं ब्रह्मे दं सर्वम् ।

4. यत्रैष चाक्षुषः पुरुषः पराङ् पर्यावर्तते
(*Sat. Br.* 14, 4, 2, 2)
यो भोक्तृकर्मप्रयुक्तो यावद्देह धारणं चक्षुषः
अनुग्रहं कुर्वन् चक्षुषि वर्तते आदित्य पुरुषः
स एव चाक्षषः पुरुषः
(Commentary)

5. द्वादशारं नहि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परि चामृतस्य ।
आ पुत्रा अग्ने मिथुनासो अत्र सप्तशतानि विंशतिश्चातस्थुः।
सनेमिचक्र-मजरं वि वावृत उत्तानायां दश युक्ता वहन्ति ।
सूर्यस्य चक्ष रजसैत्यावृतं यस्मिन्नातस्थु-र्भुवनानि विश्वा।।

6. उदु त्यं जातवेदसं देवं वहन्ति केतव : ।
दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् ।
अपत्ये तायवो यथा नक्षत्रा यन्त्यक्तुभिः
सूराय विश्वचक्षसे ॥
(*AV*., XIII, 2, 16,-17)

In many passages of the Great Epic Garuda is identified with the Vedic Garutma and described as the brother of Aruna, the forerunner of Surya. While describing the burial painting I pointed out the relationship that seems to have existed between the sun and the peacock in the Indus Age. In the Indian literature and art the peacock is described as *Vahana* of *Karttikeya*. Now *Karttikeya* had definitely some solar connection. Skanda is sometimes regarded as one of the attendant divinities of the sun-god. In some iconographic texts he is named both as *Danda* and *Skanda*. The tribal people of *Yaudheyas* were also known as *Matta-mayurakas*, Their country (modern Rohtak district) was the specially favoured residence of *Karttikeya*.[1]

The earliest concrete representation of the sun is on the punch-marked coins, where on a number of them a rayed solar orb accompanied with the peacock and other signs appears.[2] On the Suryamitra's coins also the rayed disc of the god is found.[3]

The Tree Legend

It has already been shown in some detail that the authors of the Indus Civilization held the *pipal* and *sami* trees in great respect and even worshipped them as cult objects. Not only do they occur among paintings on secular pottery, but also figure on the necropolitan ware. On the burial pottery from Cemetery H the *pipal* occurs with greater frequency, and as a decorative motif it was extremely popular with the people. A detailed account of the two trees and their significance in popular imagination has already been given above in connection with the description of the Cemetery H and the burial customs of the Indus people.[4]

Now in order to draw a parallelism between the Indus people and the Vedic Aryans a reference will be necessary to the passages containing allusions to the above flora wherever they occur in the early Indian literature.

Asvattha (ficus religiosa)

The earliest references to *asvattha* are encountered in the *Maitrayani Samhita* which derives the word *asvattha* in a rather queer way. It says that having brought into being the entire creation, Prajapati, still desirous of creating something sensational, became a horse and casting down his head low on the ground lay in that condition for a year. Thereupon the tree of *asvattha* burst forth from the head of the *asva* (horse), it became known as *asvattha*

---

1. ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाढयं धनधान्यवत् ।
कार्तिकेयस्य दयितं रोहीतक-मुपाद्रवत् ।।
तत्र युद्धं महच्चासीत् सुरै-र्मत्तमयूरकैः ।।

2. Allen, J., *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, pp. 82-83, coins nos. 1-7, and pp. 25-26, coins 11-15

3. Bannerjee, J.N., *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p 139

4. See pp. 25, 36, and 50-53 *supra*.

ever since.[1] That is why it is *yajnavachara* and sacred to Prajapati.[2] At another place it says that when Agni was born his dazzling splendour entered the *asvattha* tree and therefore the person who fetches the sacrificial fuel of *asvatt'ia* wood in fact brings splendour (to the sacrifice). The same *Samhi'a* mentions that to Pururavas the Fire-god revealed his sacrificial form. He carried off that form into his lap and transferred that to a pan (*ukha*). That fiery form changed into *asvattha* and the pan became *sami* tree.[3] That is why tbey became sacrificial plants (*yajnnavachara*) of pure birth (*punya-janmanau*). What was seed (semen) became *asvattha* and the jelly enveloping the seed became *sami*. Hence they are *yajnavachara*.[4] It further refers to seven beams emanating from the *asvattha* and entering the inner sacrificial court (*antar-vedi*).[5] Here there is some vague reference to the *asvattha* emitting beams of light. I should

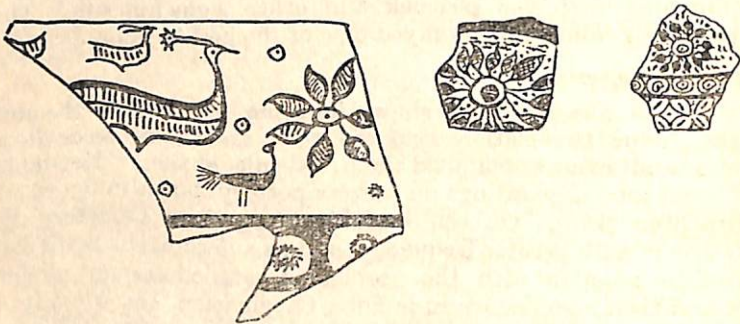


Fig. 137.

like to invite a reference to the literary allusion with regard to the pictorial representations of the solar arch on the pottery from Harappa and Chanhu-daro where the solar orb is shown with rays radiating in the form of *pipal* leaves[3] (fig. 137). Elesewhere it is

---

1. प्रजापतिः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा रिरिचानोऽमन्यत । सोऽश्वो
भूत्वा सम्वत्सरं न्यङ् भूम्यां शिरः प्रतिनिधायातिष्ठत् ।
तस्याश्वत्थो मूर्ध्न उदभिनत् । तदश्वत्थस्याश्वत्थत्त्वम् ।
(*Mait. Sam.* 1, 68)

तस्मादेष यज्ञावचरः प्राजापत्यो हि ।

2. अग्ने-वैं सृष्टस्य तेज उददीप्यत, तदश्वन्त्थं प्राविशत् ।

यदाश्वत्थीः-समिधः आदधाति तेज एवावरुन्धे ॥
(*Mait. Sam.*, 1, 6. 2,)

3. तस्मा अग्नि-र्यज्ञियां तन्वं प्रायच्छत्, तामुत्सङ्गे ऽवधायाहरत् ।
तामुखाया-मत्रादधात्, सोऽश्वत्थ आरोहोऽभवत् ।

4. योखा सा शमी । तस्मादेनौ यज्ञावचरौ । पुण्य जन्मानौ हि ।
(*Mait. Sam.*, 2, 2, 1,)

5. विरो वीर्य-मपाक्रामत् तदश्वत्थं प्राविशत् , स तेन वीर्येण गर्भराऽभवत् ।
(*Mait. Sam.*, 2, 2, 1.)

also stated that the essence separated itself from the *vit* and entered the *asvattha* and with that fertilizing seed it became pregnant. It is also conceived that herbs find a resting place in *asvattha* and abode in *palasa* tree.[1]

According to the *Atharvaveda* the gods sit under the shade of *asvattha* in the Third Heaven. Its seeds germinate in the hollows of other trees and the new growth which evidently destroys its foster mother is endowed with magical powers. It plants its roots in the *Sami* and *khadira* (*Indica catechu*) and as it grows it splits asunder the trees, masonry or stone in whose crevices its seed had germinated.[2] Hence *asvattha* is called *Vaibadha*, the destroyer. To the *pippali*, the fruit of the *assvattha*, are ascribed medical properties. It heals the missile's rent, it heals the deeply piercing wound.

The *Satapatha Brahmana* relates the following episode of Urvasi and Pururavas :

Urvasi, the heavenly nymph, asked the love-stricken Pururavas to request the *Gandharvas* to make him one of them (*Gandharva*) so that he could win her back eternally. When so asked, the *Gandharvas* told him that he, being a mortal, could not become a *Gandharva*. In order to achieve his objective he was advised by them to perform a sacrifice with the sacrificial fire which they gave him after placing it in a vessel (*sthali*). Pururavas took the *sthali* containing the sacrificial fire (*vajnagni*) and returned to his place with his son (born of Urvasi). He deposited the vessel somewhere in a jungle and returned to his place. Later on returning to the spot he saw the fire had changed into an *asvattha* tree and the *sthali* into a *sami* (*acacia*) tree. He went to the *Gandharvas* and told them the whole story. For the recovery of the lost *yajnagni* the *Gand harvas* advised him to perform a sacrifice with *ghee*—saturated dry sticks (*samids*) of *asvattha* for a year, assuring him that at the end of this period he would regain the same fire which they originally gave him. They also suggested an alternative method for the recovery, instructing him to make two *aranis*, one (the upper one) *of asvattha* and the lower one of *sami*, and by churning the two *aranis* to produce the sacrificial fire. The third alternative for regaining it was to have both the *aranis* made of *asvattha*.[1]

---

1. हे ओषधीः ! अश्वत्थे वो निवेशनं पर्णे वो वसतिः कृता ।
(*Mait. Sam.*, 2,7, 13)

2. अश्वत्थो देव सदन-स्तृतीयस्या मितो दिवि ।
तत्रामृतस्य चक्षणं देवाः कुष्ठ-मवन्वत ।।
(AV, VI, 95, 1)

3. शमी-मश्वत्थ आरूढ-स्तत्र पुंसवनं कृतम् ।
तद्वै पुत्रस्य वेदनं तत् स्त्रीष्वा भरामसि ।।

4. उर्वशी-पुरुरवसोः आख्यायिका
आश्वत्थ्यो ररण्यो-रुत्पत्ति-व्यापकं ब्राह्मणम् ।
(Sata. Br. 16, 1, 1)

There is also mention of making vessels of *asvattha* wood obtained in different ways for making offerings to various gods. An *asvattha* branch broken off by itself from that he makes a vessel (to hold the pup) for Mitra ; that which is hewn by the axe belongs to Varuna, but that which is broken off by itself belongs to Mitra.[1]

The *Taittiriva Brahmana* refers to the practice of confining the sacrificial horse in a pen or shed made of *asvattha* parling during the last two months preceding the *Asvamedha* sacrifice.[2] The *Gobhila Grihyasutra* contains a verse which clearly mentions that the *asvattha* tree belonged to the sun[3], the *palasa* to Yama and *nyagrodha* (*ficus indicus*) to Varuna and *udumbara* (*Ficus Glomerata*) to Prajapati. From this passage it becomes clear that *asvattha* was regarded a solar plant even by the Vedic Aryans. This furnishes a very close parallelism with the cultural traditions of the Indus people who also associated the *pipal* tree with the sun and the solar world as seen in the context of the contemporary burial customs. The same *Grihyasutra* also prescribes a staff of *asvattha* wood for a *Brahmacharin* of the *Vaisya* caste.[4]

In the epic literature the sacred trees like the *pipal*, the *banyan*, the *sami* etc,, are termed as *chaitva-vrikshas* or *sthala-vrikshas*. It is said that not even a leaf of the *chaitya* tree may be destroyed, for they are the resort of gods, *yakshas*, *nagas*. *apsarasas* and *bhutas*.[5] In the *Mahabharata* there is an episode : Being asked by Yudhishthira Bhishma replies .. "Listen, O king, I shall describe that *vrata* which will grant long-lived progeny. O Dharma, on the dark night falling on a Monday one should go to an *asvattha* tree and there worship *Janardana*. He should offer to this god 108 jewels or coins or fruits and go round the tree as many times. The *vrata* is much apprecited by Vishnu. Let Uttara perform this *puja* and her foetus will regain life. The *Padma-Purana* makes *asvattha* the abode of the Hindu Trinity and enjoins that it should be worshipped by one and all.[6] Again Vishnu identified with *asvattha*, Rudra with *vata* (banyan) and Brahma with *Palasa*. The *Bhagavata Purana* connects the *Mahaniryana* of Lord Krishna with the *Asvattha* tree. It is stated that his elder brother Rama had departed from this

1. *Satapatha Brahmana*, Books, VI, 16, 1, 1
2. *Taittriya Brahman* III, 8, 12
3. अश्वत्थ: सूर्यदैवत्य: पलाशो यमदैवत: ।
न्यग्रोधो वारुणो वृक्ष: प्राजापत्य उदुम्बर: ।।
(*Gcbhila Gp. Su.*, 4, 7, 22)
4. पार्णं वैल्वाश्वत्था दण्डा ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । पार्णं ब्राह्मणस्य,
वैल्वं क्षत्रियस्य, आश्वत्थं वैश्यस्य ।
(*Gob. Gr.* 2, 10, 10)
5. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonsesian Art*, p. 41
6. मूले यस्य स्थितो विष्णु-र्मध्ये तिष्ठति शङ्कर: ।
अग्रभागे स्थितो ब्रह्मा कस्तं जगति नार्चयेत् ।।
(*Padma-Pu.* III,

world, be also thought of following him and with this end in view he quietly took his seat under an *asvattha* tree.[1]

The later *Mahatmyas* edify the *asvattha* tree as the abode of Hindu Trinity and all other gods. It is enjoined that women should worship it and go round it a thousand times in one day. In the *Sravana-mahatmya* it is ordained that this tree should be worshipped on every Saturday of that month (*Sravana*-July-August). The *Vrata-Kaumudi* orders its worship on the *Somavati Amavasya* (the darkest night falling on Monday). Saint Vaikhila tells us that Vishnu becomes a pimple. Thread ceremony of the tree is strongly recommended along with its marriage with *Tulasi* plant (*ocimum sanctum*).

In Bana's *Kadambari* queen Vilasavati, desiring a child, performs a variety of ceremonies, amongst others, with a sunwise turn, she worshipped the *pippala* and other trees to which honour was wont to be shown. *Linga Purana* enjoins that a devotee desirous of warding off violent or untimely death should approach an *asvattha* tree on a Saturday and taking his seat under it should perform a *japa* of two lac *mritvunjava* (death-defying incantation) or railing that only 108 *japas* of the same *mantra*. The *Taittiriya Samhita* mentions a ritual in which the victorious king ascends a wheel fixed on a post and before his descent from this wheel the officient priest touches him with bags of salt earth wrapped in *asvattha* leaves or kept in *asvattha* box. The intention of the whole ritual being to secure progeny for the king.[2]

Sami (acacia)

In the Indus Valley the *sami* was regarded as the Tree of Life. Its twigs or miniature replicas were worn as head-crests by gods and beings of divine origin to prolong life. Hundreds of terracotta and faience sealings bearing figures of *acacia* tree have been found both at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro (Fig. 137A). They were used as amulets or charms to be worn on person for securing logevity and protecttion against perils of life. Along with the *pipal* tree this was held sacred by the Indus people.



Fig. 137A

As in the Indus Age, so also in the Vedic and the post-Vedic Ages, *asvattha* and *sami* were regarded as twin celestial trees. They are said to be *yajnavachara* (sacrificial) and of pure birth. In the Pururavas and Urvasi legend we have seen that they had cognate birth out of the saerificial fire and the sacrificial pan respectively. In the *Atharvaveda sami* is described as

1. रामनिर्याण मालोक्य भगवान् देवकी-सुत : ।
निषसाद धरोपस्थे तूष्णी-मासाद्य पिप्पलम् ॥
वाम ऊरावधिश्रित्य दक्षिणाङ्घ्रि-सरोरुहम् ।
अपाश्रितार्भकाश्वत्थ-मकृशं त्यक्तपिप्पलम् ॥ (Bh. Pu., III, 4, 8)

2. Coomaraswamy, A.K., *Yakshas*, p. 11.

3. *Taittiriya Samhita* (*Krishna Yajurveda*) Translated by Keith, Introduction, p. CX.

destructive to hair. It causes the hair to fall, making a person bald and laughing stock of the people. *Sami* is *therefore* invoked to be kind to the hair as a mother is to the child and asked to promote its lnxurious growth without harming it in any way.[2] The Indus people were perhaps aware of its quality of being destructive to the hair; that is why they wore its sprays on their head-dresses as a propitiatory act to appease its wrath. Macdonell, however, observes that the Vedic *sami* said to have large leaves cannot be identified with the *sami* recognised as such at the present day. This latter vartiey has very small leaves which are not known to have any harmful effect on the hair, The *Gobhila Grihyasutra* lays down that the boundary pegs of a sacred court should be made of *sami*.[1] *Katyayana Srautasutra* preseribes that for driving away calves from their mothers a sticn made of the twig of *palasa* or *sami* should be used.[2]

In this connection it is worth remarking that in the peripheral region of Baluchistan some painted sherds were recovered by Sir Aurel Stein on which the twin trees *pipal* and *sami* occur together (fig. 138). It appears that the vessels containing this motif must have been sacred vessels intended for some sort of ritual or temple worship.[3] The *pipal* plant motif has no doubt been found at such far-flug sites as Dabarkot in Loralai and Sutkajendor on the coast of the Arabian Sea in Makran, which at one time were outposts of the Indus Empire, and as such formed a part of its cultural province. But the occurrence of *pipal* in association with *sami* in those outlying parts is a rare phenomenon and must receive due consideration.



Fig. 138.

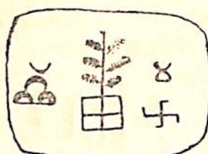
In the post-Vedic literature out of the cult of the sacred trees like the *pipal* and the *sami*, which were also called *chaitva-vrinksha*

---

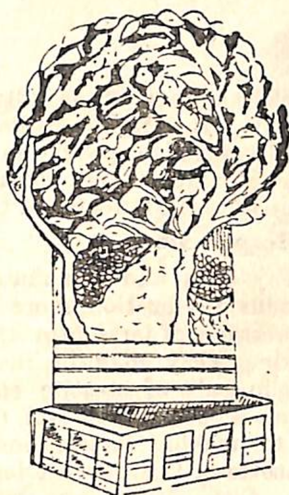
2. यस्ते मदोऽवकेशो येनाभिहस्य पुरुषं कृणोषि ।
आरात् त्वदन्या वनानि वृक्षि त्वं शमि शतवल्शा विरोह ।।
बृहत्पलाशे सुभगे वर्षवृद्ध ऋतावरि ।
मातेव पुत्रेभ्यो मृड केशेभ्य : शमि ।।

1. परिधीनप्येके कुर्वन्ति शामीलान् पार्णान् वा कुशानां प्रतिनिधीनां चाभावे स्तरणार्थं परिधीनप्येके शामीलान् शमीम्मयान् पार्णान् पलाशमयान् कुर्वन्ति ।

2. पर्णशाखया एव मातृभ्य : सकाशात् वत्सान् अपाकुर्यात् । पृथक् कुर्यात् । कात्यायनस्तु शमीशाखामपि विकल्पेनात्रावोचत, पर्णशाखां छिनत्ति शामीलां वा ।


Fig. 140.

or *sihala-vrikshas*, was evolved the conception *of kalpa-vriksha* or *Parijata*. Consequently the representations of *kalpa-vrikshas* have been found in early Indian art of the pre-Christian period. On the punch-marked coins often appears a *kalpa-vriksha* inside a railing (*vedika*) accompanied by a *svastika*, taurus symbol and the hill-crescent sign (fig 140). It can be compared with the Indus seal No. Pl.LXXXII marks on which figures *svastika* and a protective *yantra* being attended upon by an elephant. Many years ago there was found at Besnagar (ancient *Vidisa*) the capital of a stone column (*dhvaja*) in the form of a *baryan* tree represented as


Fig. 140a.

kalpa-vriksha. It was enclosed by the sacred *vedika* (railing), and was evidently the crowning member of a *dhvaja*. dedicated to Kuvera, the lord of wealth. At the base of the tree are shown the *Sankwa* and *Padma*, the two of the eight mythical treasures of Kuvera, exuding coins or jewels. (Fig. 140a).

11

Parallelisms between the Indus and the Vedic Cultures (II)

Amulets and Charms

Another common characteristic of the cultures of the Indus and the Vedic (strictly speaking the Middle Vedic) periods is the deep-rooted belief of superstition-ridden people in animism and consequently in abundant use of amulets and charms to get rid of the dangers and diseases that were the outcome of their blind faith.

Indus Seals and Seal Impressions

At Harappa, Mohenjo-daro and Chanhu-daro, which were the main centres of the Indus Civilization, more than three thousand stone seals and seal impressions of terracotta and faience have come to light. Broadly speaking, they may be divided into three main classes :—(A) large intaglio seals of steatite engraved by hand and intended for making impressions (fig. 141/1-5); (B) miniature seals of steatite, not intended for making impressions (fig. 141/6-24) ; (C) seals or sealings of terracotta or faience with devices and inscriptions in relief (fig. 141/25-30). Class A has two main subdivisions *viz* , (1) square seals with perforated bosses on the back side (fig. 141, A, 1B) and (2) the rectangular seals with convex or plane back (fig. 141/2, 3). The type A/1, which is square-shaped, usually bears effigy of an animal in the centre and a short inscription in the upper field. The size varies between 2·6 inches and 0·45 in. square.

The most popular size was 1·0 inch square. Type A/2 is rectangular in shape and bears only an incription and no animal. Some seals are of unusual shapes. For example, one is rhomboid and shows a flying eagle and cross (fig. 141/5A, B) while another is T-shaped and contains four empanelled *svastikas* (fig. 141/4).

The miniature steatite seals belonging to class B are generally confined to lower levels in Harappa and have not been met with either at Mohenjo daro or Chanhudaro. Their length varies from ·7 to ·36 inch, width from ·6 to ·25 inch and the thickness from ·13 to ·05 inch. These seals are very brittle and were not intended for taking impressions. The inscriptions incised on them are generally e right direction and not reversed as they are on the large inta-

1. Cooma aswamy, A.K., Yakshas, p. 49

glio seals. The one characteristic peculiar to these seals is that they have very short inscriptions which are repeated several times on

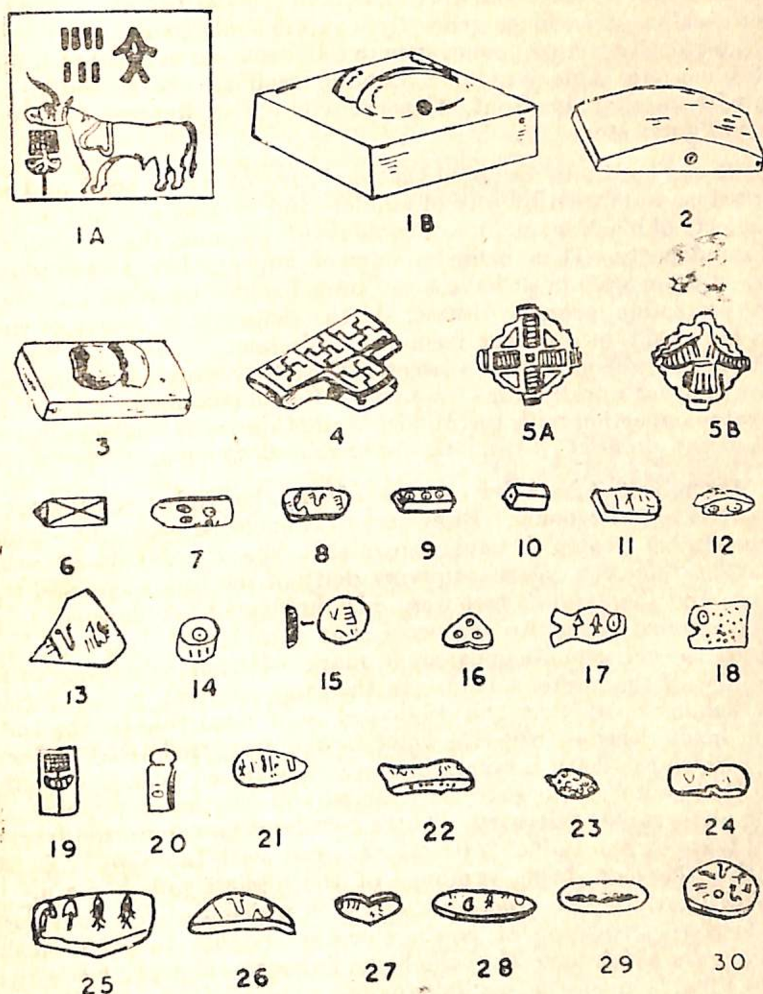


Fig. 141.

many other seals—a thing that is very rare on the seals belonging to classes A and C. In respect of the inscriptions on miniature seals Mr. Vats observes, "Though purport of these seals is unknown to us it can hardly be doubted that the seals served as amulets of some kind and were carried about on the person". Among these miniature seals there is a remarkably large variety of shapes. For example, there are oblong, square, triangular, prismatic, bar-shaped, cylindrical, plano-convex, discular, lanceolate, as well as seals shaped like heart, shield, leaf, fish, tortoise, hare etc. Under class C come a large variety of sealings of terracotta or faience which have been found

abundantly in the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. They are multishaped and contain mostly inscriptions alone but often other motifs also such as an animal, *acacia* or *pipal* leaf etc. Button-shaped seals and sealings generally contain only geometric designs like the *svastika*, cross, concentric circles, sets of vertical and horizontal lines etc. Among animals found on sealings are crocodile, unicorn with an altar in front, tortoise, composite figures, *Pipal* god, horned figures etc.

It can hardly be doubted that majority of these seals and seal impressions were used by way of amulets and charms to ward off the evil effects of black magic, machinations of enemies, depredations of wild animals etc. That being an age of superstition and animism, many of these seals must have been intended to be worn on person as a protection against disease, death, defeat etc. Some of them must have contained prayer formulas addressed to various gods of the Indus pantheon to secure longevity, victory, success in life and a host of other worldly objectives which I shall recount in some detail below in connection with the Middle Vedic Culture as reflected in the texts of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Satapatha Brahmana*.

Let me cite here a few examples from the Indus Valley art in support of my viewpoint. Elsewhere in connection with the religion of the Indus people I have shown that the *Pipal* God (*asvattha adhishthatri-devata*) was the supreme deity of the Indus age and that unicorn and the *asvattha* tree were his emblems.[1] A horned head-dress composed of the two emblems, but considerably stylized, was worn by the subordinate gods as a mark of their allegiance to the authority of the Supreme God. In the same context it has further been demonstrated that the U-shaped sign occurring in the Indus script, being derived from the *pipal torana* (reversed arch) under or inside which the deity is invariably seen enshrined, was also symbolic of that god. It was extremely sacred and the most popular sign of the pictographic syllabary. There are about two hundred inscriptional texts on the Indus seals which open with this sign.[2] Consequently, the sign being symbolic of the highest god, was a mystic syllable like the Vedic *pranava* or *Om* with which a sacred text opens in a Sanskrit scripture. It is therefore reasonable to presume that all the texts which have U as the beginning sign are formulas addressed to Pipal God to win his favour for obtaining cherished boons. Those seals on which the beginning sign is other than U may be formulas or *mantras* (incantations) addressed to the subordinate gods of the Indus pantheon who were a legion. Indo-Aryan pantheon of the Epic and Puranic times consists of countless gods and goddesses. In the Vedic literature there is mention of three gods and then of thirty three. Later on this figure multiplies and mounts up to thirty three crores which is of course a hyperbole and strictly

1. Sastri, K. N., *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. 8 and 9.

2. The writer does not agree with Dr. G. Hunter that the sign U was a suffix of the genitive case at the end of a personal name, as his reading is based on the belief that the Indus script was written from right to left which I doubt.

speaking means only countless number. Majority of these gods and goddesses were invoked by different *mantras*, which were considered appropriate for these deities and had different prayer formulae. As attested by a large number of deities discovered in the Indus Valley, the mode of worship must not have been much different from the one that was in vogue in the post-Vedic and in the Epic times. It is not therefore unreasonable to conclude that the laconic texts on the Indus seals were prayer formulae or *mantras* addressed to various gods and goddesses with a view to attaining divine boons.

It would be well worth citing here a few examples in order to illustrate the subject under discussion.

Harappa has yielded a large number of terracotta cylindrical sealings bearing the figure of a crocodile on one side and an inscription of eleven pictographs on the other (fig. 142).[1] They are evidently amulets intended to prevent the harm caused by the depredations of these aquatic monsters that infested the waters of the Ravi in ancient times when the river flowed full. Even now the crocodiles inhabiting the deep waters of this river are notorious for their rapacious habits. The inscription on the reverse of this sealing is most probably an incantation addressed to the presiding deity to guarantee security to the wearer of this charm.



Fig. 142.

A Harappa sealing shows on obverse first an inscription of three pictographs and then a man carrying a manger with propitiatory offerings for a tiger standing in front of him[2] (fig. 143). On the reverse side is repeated the same inscription and also a row of five *svastikas* as auspicious symbols signifying security and good luck. The sealing was obviously an amulet against possible dangers arising from the depredations of tigers. Such amulets show that owing to dense jungles surrounding Mohenjo daro and Harappa wild beasts were a constant source of danger to the inhabitants. Evidently the wild beasts depicted on the seals with the accompanying mangers were held in reverential awe and supposed to be haunted by malevolent spirits whose propitiation was considered essential for ensuring safety of person and property. That this was a charm against tiger-menace seems further corroborated by the inscription of three pictograms repeated on each face. This epigraph consists of three symbols. Of them the first is the U-shaped sign which signifies the *pipal* god ; the second is the numerical figure II meaning 'two'. The third

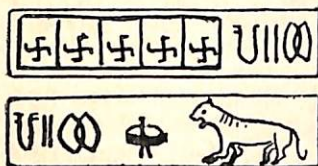


Fig. 143.

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. XCIV, 334-336.
2. *Ibid.*, Pl. XCIII, 306.

sign is composed of two interlocked elliptical figures meaning 'friends'. The three signs interpreted in the present context seem to mean 'By the grace of the *Pipal* god, the highest deity, let us two be friends'. By the use of this charm the owner evidently thought he could befriend the tigers".

A square steatite seal from Harappa shows a tiger standing to right with a manger lying in front of him. In the upper field is a compound ideogram composed of a homosign and a double ellipse, the former holding the latter in its hand, The double ellipse which is the combination of two interlacing elliptical figures presumably means 'friends'. So the man holding this sign in one hand symbolically wants to befriend the tiger. The manger containing propitiatory offerings lying in front of the beast seems to confirm this interpretation. The seal was evidently a charm against the tiger-menace (Fig. 144).[1]



Fig. 144.

There are several Indus seals which show Gilgamesh-like hero standing between two tigers whom, seizing by the neck in his antennae-like hands, he has lifted aloft in the air with his centipede-arms. (Fig. 145).[2] Such seals were amulets designed to make the wearer exceptionally brave, fearless and immune from the dangers arising from the tigers that infested the dense jungles surrounding Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in those days.



Fig. 145.

Mohenjo-daro seal No. 386 (Marshall)[3] shows three interlocked tigers (Fig. 146). Of them two tigers are dangerously prowling for the victim, while the third one on top is shown helplessly hanging down as though under the effect of the charm.

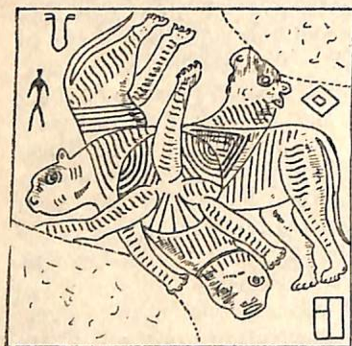


Fig. 146.

Fragmentary steatite seal from Harappa (Fig. 147)[4]. It shows the tree of life with its guardian spirit hypnotising the tiger demon who had dared to approach the tree for stealing its branches. Quite a good

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. XCI, 246.
2. Marshall, J., *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol. III, Pl. CXI, 236.
3. *Ibid.*, PL. CXII, 386.
4. Vats, M.S., *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. XCI, 248.

number of seals depicting this scene have been recovered from Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. They were apparently charms against tiger-menace.





Fig. 147.



Fig. 148.

Mohenjo-daro seal No. 518[1] shows a tiger standing near a wooden or metal trap and an inscription in the upper margin in which the last ideogram shows two men carrying on their shoulders an object which most probably represents some tiger-capturing device. (fig 148)

Mohenjo-daro seal No. 7 (Mackay, Vol. II, Pl. CIII, 9) shows a buffalo-headed god seated in *yogic* pose on a raised seat supported by bull's legs. (Fig. 149). On either side of the therianthropic god is a *Naga* deity offering him a U shaped device (*yantra*) and behind each Naga deity stands erect a large guardian serpent. This seal can legitimately be regarded as a charm against snake-bites. The significance of the seat having bull's legs was preferably to convey that it was firmly founded on Eternal Law. In Vedic as well as early post-Vedic literature the bull is synonymous with *Dharma* (Righteousness or Eternal Law).[2] Possibly a similar symbolic meaning was attached to the bull in the Indus period also.

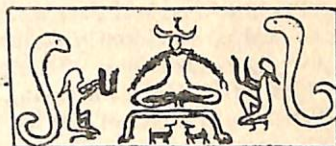


Fig. 149.

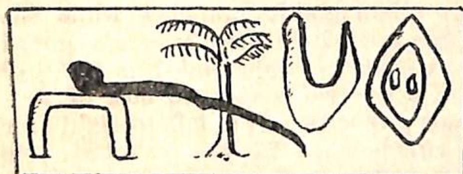


Fig. 150.

Another Mohenjo-daro sealing (Fig. 150)[3] shows an acacia tree, which is *par excellence* the Tree of Life being guarded by a cobra who has placed its head on a wooden offerings stand. This also could be a charm against danger from snakes.

1. Mackay, E., *Further Excavations*, Vol. II, Pl. XCVI. 518.
2. See page 93 *Supra*.
3. Mackay, E., *Further Excavations*, Vol. II, Pl. CI, 66.

A terracotta sealing from Mohenjo-daro exhibits on obverse a bison bending over a trough, while a man stands in front looking at him with one arm stretched out towards it and the other pointing at the compound ideogram to his proper left (Fig. 151). The animal is feeling shy as if suspecting some foul play and hesitating to put its muzzle into the trough.[1] The ideogram which he is pointing at is a compound of two signs as shown in fig. 152. The first sign is symbolic of the *Pipal* God and the second is the bringer of provisions and plenty. The real significance of the compound ideogram seems to be the 'divine bestower of plenty'. With one hand almost touching the ideogram and the other held in a mystic pose towards the animal the exorciser seems muttering the *mantra*. "By the grace of the Supreme deity, the *Pipal God*, thou be kind to us and bringer of good luck and plenty". He is apparently invoking the aid of the ideogram for turning the brute into a benevolent creature. Two other wild animals—a rhinoceros and tiger—shown walking from left to right on the other side of the seal, are evidently waiting for their turn to undergo the same process of exorcism. This can be compared with the Vedic amulet which was tied to a young unruly bull to be yoked for the first time (See serial No. 83 of the list given below of amulets described in the *Atharvaveda*).



Fig. 151.

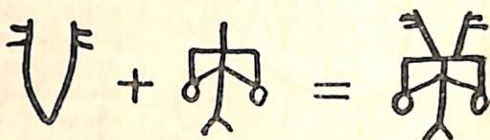


Fig. 152.

A triangular prismatic sealing of terracotta from Mohenjo-daro shows a legendary scene on each of its three faces. One of them shows at extreme left end an *accacia* tree flanked by two rampant deer who are nibbling at its branches while the three headed chimaera stands a guard over it at the right end (Fig. 153, *c*).[2] The other two faces have files of animals proceeding from left to right for paying homage to the celestial tree (Fig. 153, *a*, *b*). They include elephant, rhinoceros, leopard?, tiger, bison, goat, crocodile, tortoise and fish. It looks as if the whole animal world has joined the procession to pay their homage to the divine tree. The fact that the carnivores and the herbivores are marching toge-

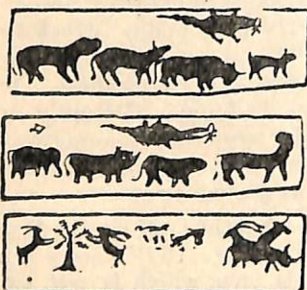


Fig. 153.

1. Mackay, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. CI, 1*a* and *b*.
2. Marshall, J., *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. III, Pl. CXVI, 14.

ther in perfect harmony obviously implies pacific atmosphere pervading the sacred precincts of the holy tree. This sealing seems to have served as an amulet for bringing about concordance among the discordant elements. The pacific atmosphere prevailing in the vicinity of the divine tree calls to mind the holy *asramas* or hermitages of the Indian sages in the remote recesses of jungles where the tiger and the bull could live amicably and drink together at the same pool unconcerned. The scene is also reminiscent of the Buddhist *stupas* or the holy *Bodhi Tree* to which the wild animals approached in perfect concordance for making offerings of garlands etc. The amulet can be compared with the one described in the *Atharvaveda* for bringing about harmony and concordance among discordant elements.[1] To the same category also belonged Mohenjo-daro sealing No. 13 (Mackay, F.E. Pl. XC) showing *Sami*, row of animals, etc.

The triangular prismatic sealing from Harappa showing on each of the three faces a therianthropic god whose upper part is human but the lower one bovine. The gods are seemingly carrying some implements on their shoulders. They are probably gods of agriculture (Fig. 154). The sealing was therefore obviously a charm for securing plentiful harvest. This sealing may be compared with serial nos. 7,131 and 154 of the list given below of the charms described in the *Atharvaveda.*



Fig. 154

A Mohenjo-daro seal (Fig. 155)[2] shows six animal heads radiating from a heart-shaped central ring, the heads being those of unicorn, bison, *Brahmani* bull, tiger, rhinoceros and buffalo (fig. 155). The seal was undoubtedly an amulet intended to bestow on the wearer various physical and psychic qualities which these animals were supposed

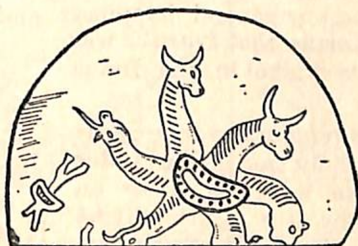


Fig. 155.

to possess individually, such as bravery, dash, divine character, fleetness of foot, etc. A variant of this seal is no. 641[3] (fig. 156) where only one animal, *viz.*, unicorn, is shown, the rest being represented by curved limbs.

1 For example compare nos. 47 and 62 of the list of charms and magic formulae given below on pp. 123 and 129.

2. Marshall, J. *Op., Cit.* Vol. III, Pl CXII, 383.

3. Mackay, E., *Further Excavations*, Vol. II, Pl. XCVIII, 641.

To the same category also belong several seals from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa depicting a composite human-faced animal embody-

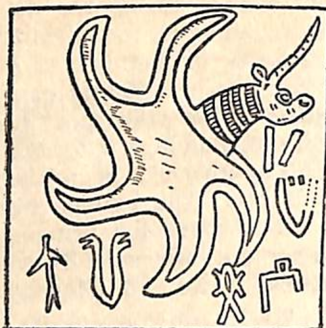


Fig. 156.

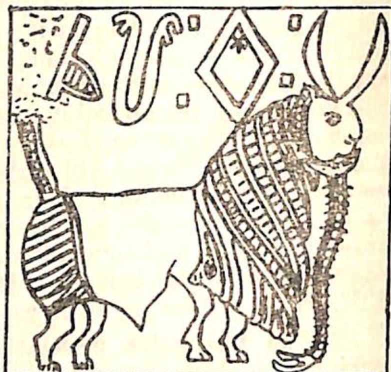


Fig. 157.

ing parts of as many as seven animals (fig. 157).[1] The wearers of this amulet were supposed to possess the best qualities of these animals such as human intelligence, tiger's ferocity, ram's dash, bull's strength and so forth.

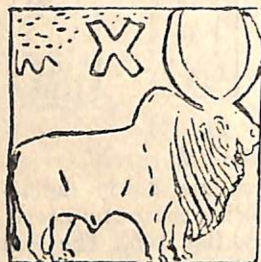


Fig. 158.

Numerous seals containing *Brahman* bull were presumably intended as charms to bestow on the owner general happiness and abundance of cattle wealth (fig. 158). They can be compared with certain charms described in the *Atharvaveda*, such as serial nos. 10 and 56 in the list of charms appended below.

The T-shaped seal of black steatite from Harappa carved with four *svastikas* only.[2] It was apparently a charm intended to bestow general happiness and prosperity on the wearer. It is noteworthy that *svastika* was already an auspicious symbol in the Indus age (fig. 159).

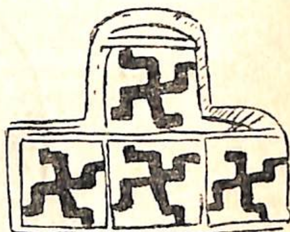


Fig. 159.

Asvattha (*ficus religiosa*) was regarded as an extremely holy tree in the Indus Age. Its twigs were worn as crests on their head-dresses by the gods, divine heroes and the high priests. It can be surmised with justification that, as in the Vedic Age, so in the Indus Period, too, its wood was used for preparing charms and amulets. In the Vedic Age charms of *asvattha* wood, called *asvattha mani*, were extensively employed for the destruction and discomfiture of the enemies. This charm seems to have been suggested by the pecu-

1. Vats, M.S., *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. XCI, 249.
For full description of this composite animal *see* Vol. I, p. 27 of this book.
2. Vats, M. S., *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. LXXXIV, g.

liar property of the *asvattha* tree planting its roots in others like *sami* and *khadira* (*indicus catechu*) or in the crevices of stone, masonry etc., and splitting them open, thereby causing their destruction as it grew in size. So the charms made of *asvattha* wood were supposed to have miraculous powers of destroying the enemies against whom they



Fig. 160.

Fig. 161.

were employed. Among seals showing *asvattha* tree Mohenjo-daro seal No. 387[1] needs special mention. It shows a well formed *pipal* tree, guarded by two unicorns, as springing from an altar (fig. 160). Another important seal worth noticing is No. 430[2] (Mackay, Vol. II), also from Mohenjo-daro, showing *pipal* tree enshrining a god (fig. 161).

The Mohenjo-daro seal No. 20 (fig. 162)[3] showing a crocodile holding a fish in its jaws on obverse, and acacia, *svastika* and an invocatory inscription on the reverse, was obviously a charm against the inroads of crocodiles (fig. 162). The presence of *svastika* and the Tree of Life was to guarantee security to the wearer. The fish in the jaws of the crocodile implies that the natural food of the brute being fish, it should subsist on it and spare man and his cattle.

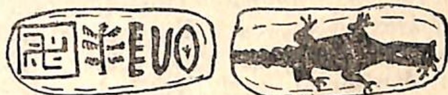


Fig. 162.

A Mohenjo-daro seal depicts a single-bodied and three-headed animal (fig 163)[4]. The heads are of unicorn, bison and ibex. The unicorn head is looking forward, the bison head downwards and the ibex head backwards. This seal could be



Fig. 163.

1. Marshall, J., *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. CXII.
2. Mackay, E., *Further Excavations*, Vol. II, Pl. XCIV.
3. Marshall, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, Pl. CXVI, 20.
4. Mackay, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. XVCI, 434.

a charm either to ward off the three dangers, *viz.*, the danger ahead, the danger behind and the danger lurking near about; or else it was a charm for securing happiness and prosperity for all time. In the latter sense the three heads meant respectively the three times—past, present and future.

A rhomboid seal from Harappa shows on one face a flying eagle flanked by two snakes, while on the second face it has a plain

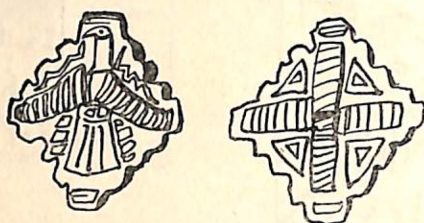


Fig. 164.

cross. It was probably a charm against the depredations of the birds of prey or an amulet against the deadly poison of the snakes (fig. 164.)[1]

There is quite a large number of button seals and sealings which bear geometric designs such as concentric circles, single or double crosses, squares, crisscross, diagonal cross-hatching, triangles, sets of horizontal and vertical strokes, *svastikas* and some other complex figures (fig. 165). The single or double crosses are only simplified forms of the *svastika* motif and the nine concentric circles arranged in three rows of three each could be the prototype of the later *Navagraha Yantra* worshipped on ceremonial occasions by the Hindus even today. The geometric motifs found on the Indus seals or sealings were obviously worn as charms for counter-acting the evil effects of diseases, black magic and other perils of life. These charms can be paralleled with their counterparts in the *Atharvaveda*.

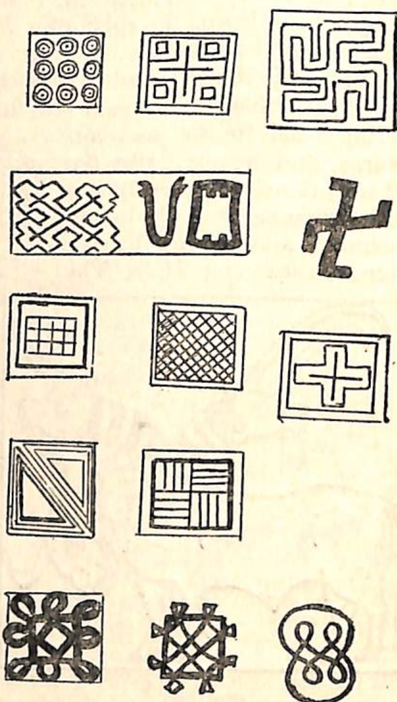


Fig. 165.

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. XCI, 255

A large number of seals containing the tree legend illustrate different episodes in the story of the two celestial trees. Such sea's were also charms or amulets intended to edify the two trees and bestow true knowledge and longevity on the wearer.[1] (fig. 166)

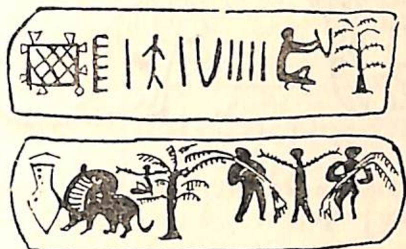


Fig. 166.

Again good many seals and seal impressions showing various gods, solitary representations of the Tree of Life or the Tree of Knowledge, the sacred altar, the *asvattha*, the *pipal* leaves etc. were also meant to serve as charms possessing some talismanic values. Many seals bearing the tiger, bison, rhinoceros, elephant and other wild animals with a manger lying in front (fig. 167) can also be interpreted as protective charms against dangers arising from these wild animals.





Fig. 167.

A large number of copper tablets inscribed with animals and legends were undoubtedly intended to be worn as amulets or charm

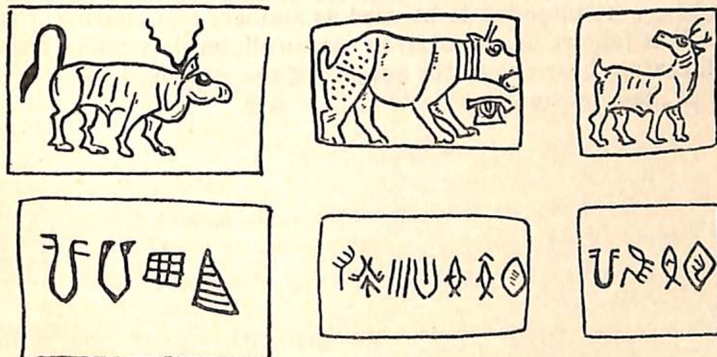


Fig. 168.

for propitiating those animals (fig. 168). They were encased in wooden or other frames and worn on person.

1. Sastri, K.N., *New Light on the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, (P1. V, 1-6)

Not only the seals and seal impressions, but various other objects, too, such as miniature faience squirrels and rams with

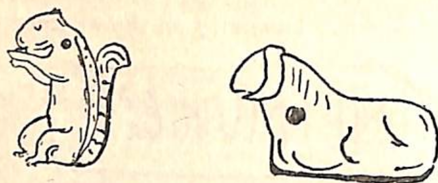


Fig. 169.

perforated necks, and incised ivory rods, etc., were also regarded as possessing talismanic properties and consequently came to be used

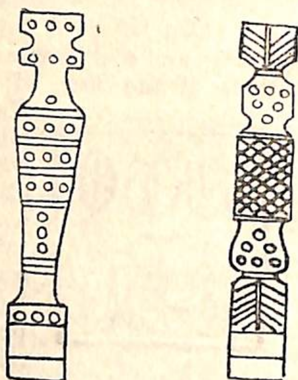


Fig. 170.

as charms for carrying on person (figs. 169 and 170).

The foregoing examples give some indication of the evidence pointing to the conclusion that majority of the Indus seals and seal impressions were intended to be used as amulets and charms. In the chapter that follows has been given some collateral evidence from the Vedic literature bearing on the subject of the supposed magical properties of these talismanic objects in that age.

12

Parallelisms Between the Indus and the Vedic Cultures (III)

Most of the evidence produced in this chapter is drawn from the Atharvaveda Samhita which is assignable to the Middle Vedic Age.

It has been possible to collect about two hundred amulets, charms and the prayer formulae from the *Atharvaveda* which were supposed to act as antidotes against various dangers, diseases, discomfitures, failures etc. Some of the charms are invocatory prayers addressed to the presiding deities for securing success in life, male progeny, wealth, virility etc. Below is given the list of those charms and incantations to afford some insight into the conditions of life prevailing in the age.

A List of Charms, Amulets and Prayer Formulae as given in the *Atharvaveda*.

S. No.	*Subject*	*Vedic Reference*
1.	Prayer for a boy's long and happy life.	*Dīrgāyuḥ prāptiḥ* (Ath. Veda I, 30)
2.	Prayer for success in business.	*Svastyayanam* (Ath. Veda I, 27, and VI, 93)
3.	Prayer for peace and security.	*Śreyaḥ prāptiḥ* (Ath. Veda II, 11)
4.	Prayer for general protection and prosperity.	*Śrevaḥ prāptiḥ* (Ath. Veda II, 11)
5.	Prayer for seasonable rain and prosperity.	*Vrishtiḥ* (Ath. Veda VII, 18)
6.	Prayer for protection from poison.	*Visha-dūshaṇam* (Ath. Veda VI, 100)
7.	Prayer for plentiful harvest.	*Anna-samṛiddhiḥ* (Ath. Veda VI, 142)
8.	Prayer for benediction on cow and calf.	*Paśu-poshaṇam* (Ath. Veda III, 28)

S. No.	*Subject*	*Vedic Reference*
9.	Prayer for glorification of an all-powerful amulet.	*Maṇi-bandhanam* (Ath. Veda X, 6)
10.	Prayer for prosperity of cattle.	*Paśu-samvardhanan* (Ath. Veda II, 26)
11.	Prayer for health and wealth.	*Rāyasposha-prāptih* (Ath. Veda III, 10)
12.	Prayer for detection and destruction of evil spirits.	*Yātudhāna-nāśanam* (Ath. Veda I, 7)
13.	Prayer for destruction of sorcerers.	*Piśācha-kshayaṇam* (Ath. Veda IV, 20)
14.	Prayer for protection from arrows.	*Ishu-nishkāsanam* (Ath. Veda VI, 90)
15.	Charm against dysentery.	*Kshetriya-roga-nāśanam* (Ath. Veda II, 8)
16.	Charm against constipation and suppression of urine.	*Rogopa-samanam, mūtra-mochanam*
17.	Charm to be used in child-birth.	*Nārī sukha-prasūtiḥ* (Ath. Veda I, 11)
18.	Charm against fever, headache and cough.	*Kāśa-śamanam*; (Ath. Veda VI, 105)
19.	Charm for happiness.	*Sukham* (Ath. Veda VII. 69)
20.	Charm against demons.	*Rakshoghnam* (Ath. Veda I, 28 and V, 29)
21.	Charm to be used at venesection.	*Rudhira-srāva-nivṛitta-ve dhamanī-bandhanam* (Ath. Veda I, 17)
22.	Charm against misfortune and to secure prosperity.	*Krityā pariharaṇam abhyudayāya prārthanā* (Ath. Veda, XVII, 1)
23.	Charm to obtain invisibility.	*Añjanam* (Ath. Veda IV, 9, and XIX, 45)
24.	Charm for securing love.	*Kāmasya ishuḥ* (Ath. Veda III, 25)
25.	Charm to secure long life and glory.	*Dīrghāyuḥ Yaśah-prāptih* (Ath. Veda V, 28)
26.	Charm to ensure success in gambling.	*Apāmārga* (Ath. Veda IV, 7, 4, 7, 17)

S. No.	*Subject*	*Vedic Reference*
27.	Charm involving water cure.	*Apām bhaishajyam jala-chikitsā* (Ath. Veda VI, 57)
28.	Charm for health and prosperity.	*Samriddhi-prāptiḥ* (Ath. Veda III)
29.	Countercharm against imprecation and malignity.	*Śāpa-mochanam* (Ath. Veda II, 7)
30.	Charm to cure dangerous and hereditary diseases.	*Kshetriya-roga-nāśanam* (Ath. Veda II, 8)
31.	Countercharm with the amulet against an enemy's spell.	*Ātma-gopanam* (Ath. VedaVI, 13,1,3)
32.	Charm to banish vermins and noxious creatures.	*Krimi-nāśanam* (Ath. Veda II,32 and IV. 37)
33.	Charm against fear.	*Abhayam* (Ath. Veda VI, 40 and XIX,14)
34.	Charm against enemies and goblins.	*Śatru-nāśanam* (Ath. Veda II, 12)
35.	Charm against abortion.	*Āsravasya bheshajam, garbha-samsrāvaḥ* (Ath. Veda II,3 and XX, 96)
36.	Charm against opponent in debate.	*Sapatna-Kshaya-Kāmaḥ* (Ath. Veda, IV. 75,1-2)
37.	Charm against consumption.	*Balāsa-nāśanam* (Ath. VI, 14)
38.	Charm to secure a husband.	*Pati-vedanam* (Ath. Veda II, 16) *Pati-lābhaḥ* (Ath. Veda VI, 60)
39.	Charm for defeat and destruction of enemies in battle.	*Vijaya-prāptiḥ* (Ath. Veda X, 5) *Śatru-senā-sammohanam* (Ath. Veda XIII, 5,1)
40.	Charm for restoration of expelled king.	*Sva-rājya punaḥ sthāpanam* (Ath. Veda III, 3)
41.	Charm with an amulet for buckhorn to drive away hereditary diseases.	*Hariṇasya ragushyado* (Ath. Veda III,1,7,1)

S. No.	*Subject*	*Vedic Reference*
42.	Charm against rheumatism.	*Vishkambha-nāśanam* (Ath. Veda V, 22)
43.	Charm for recovery of a dangerously sick man.	*Roga-nāśanam, rogopa-śamanam* (Ath. Veda VI, 44; IV, 13)
44.	Charm against a rival (wife's against wife).	*Sapatnī-bādhanam* (Ath. VI, 75; VII,15)
45.	Charm to remove a woman's sterility and assure the birth of boys.	*Gārbha-dosha-nivāraṇam* (Ath. Veda VIII, 6) *Puṁ savanaṁ* (Ath. Veda VI, 11)
46.	Charm to win the favour of serpents.	*Sarpa-visha-nāśanaṁ* (Ath. Veda V, 13) *Sarpebhyo rakshaṇam* (Ath. Veda VI, 56)
47.	Charm to secure love and concord in a family.	*Sāmanasyam* (Ath. Veda III, 30) *Parasparachittaikī-karaṇam* (Ath. Veda VI, 42)
48.	Charm against tigers, wolves, thieves and other noxious creatures.	*Rātriḥ* (Ath. Veda XIX, 47)
49.	Charm to make a poisoned arrow harmless.	*Rohanī vanaspatiḥ* (Ath. Veda IV, 12)
50.	Charm to make a poisonous plant innocuous.	*Vishaghnam* (Ath. Veda IV, 16) *Visha-śamanam* (Ath. Veda IV, 7)
51.	Charm to mend a broken bone.	*Arundhatī* (Ath. Veda IV, 12)
52.	Charm to hasten the coming of rain.	*Vrishtiḥ* (Ath. Veda IV, 15)
53.	Charm to acquire superhuman powers of sight.	*Svarjyotiḥ prāptiḥ* (Ath. Veda IV, 7,3,1)
54.	Charm for the discomfiture and destruction of hostile priests.	(Ath. Veda, I, 27, 1)
55.	Charm against witchcraft.	*Rakshoghnam* Ath. Veda I, 28; V, 29)
56.	Charm for the increase of cattle.	*Paśu poshaṇam* (Ath. Veda III, 28)

S. No.	*Subject*	*Vedic Reference*
57.	Charm against parasite worms.	*Krimi-nāśanam* (Ath. Veda II, 32; IV, 37) (by fumes of *ajāśringī*)
58.	Charm for power and pre-eminence.	*Varchaḥ-prāptiḥ* (Ath. Veda III, 22) *Varchobala-prāptiḥ* (Ath. VI, 63)
59.	Charm to ensure conception	*Garbhādhānam* (Ath. Veda V, 25; and VI, 61)
60.	Charm to strengthen hair and promote its growth.	*Keśa-vardhanī (aushadhiḥ)* (Ath. Veda, VI, 21)
61.	Charm to avert misfortune by the coming of a dove and an owl.	*Eno-nāśanam* (Ath. Veda VI, 51)
62.	Charm to reconcile estranged friends.	*Paraspara-chittaikī-karaṇam* (Ath. Veda VI, 42)
63.	Charm against evil dreams.	*Duḥsvapna-nāśanam* (Ath. Veda VI, 45)
64.	Charm for a bruise or wound.	*Rohaṇīvanaspatiḥ* (Ath. Veda IV, 12)
65.	Charm to protect cattle and man.	(Ath. Veda,III,28,5)
66.	Charm to accompany the shaving of beard.	*Vapanam* (Ath. Veda VI, 68)
67.	Charm to bring cattle home.	*Goshṭhe, Paśavaḥ* (Ath. Veda, II, 26, 1-2)
68.	Charm to facilitate child-birth.	*Nārī-sukha-prasūtīḥ* (Ath. Veda I, II)
69.	Charm to win a bride.	*Jāyā kāmanā* (Ath. Veda VI, 82)
70.	Charm to protect a house from fire.	*Agniḥ sapatnahā* (Ath. Veda II, 6)
71.	Charm against insanity.	*Unmattatā-mochanam* (Ath. Veda VI, 111)
72.	Charm for fair weather.	*Sudivasa-kāmanā*
73.	Charm to be used when eyes are anointed.	*Traikakudāñjanam, Añjanam* (Ath. Veda IV, 9; XIX, 45)
74.	Charm against lightning.	*Vidyut* (Ath. Veda 1, 13)

S. No.	*Subject*	*Vedic Reference*
75.	Charm to ensure a prosperous journey.	*Mārga-svastyayanam* (Ath. Veda I, 27, VI, 93)
76.	Charm to obtain knowledge of the Vedas.	*Brahmavidyā* (Ath. Veda IV, 1 ; V, 6)
77.	Charm against poisonous bites and stings.	*Visha-bhaīshajvam* (Ath. Veda VII, 56) By means of *madhula*-herb
78.	Charm to avert an evil omen.	*Durita-nāśanam* (Ath. Veda VII, 63)
79.	Charm against a rival in love.	*Kevalaḥ patiḥ* (Ath. Veda, VII, 38)
80.	Charm against misfortune.	*Nirṛityapastaraṇam* (Ath. Veda VI, 124)
81.	Charm to obtain pardon for an indecent act.	*Aśishta-kshamāpaṇam*
82.	Charm to exorcise evil spirits who beset women.	*Sarvato rakshaṇam* (Ath. Veda VI, 53)
83.	Charm to be used when a young ox is first yoked.	*Anadvān* (Ath. Veda IV, 7, 2, 1)
84.	Amulet of *darbha* grass to subdue enemies.	*Darbha-maṇiḥ* (Ath. Veda XIX, 28)
85.	Amulet of *udumbara* (*Fiscus Glomerata*)	*Udumbara-maṇih* (Ath. Veda XIX, 31)
86.	Protective charm addressed to the panacea called *jaṅgida*.	*Jaṅgida-maṇiḥ* (Ath. Veda XIX, 34)
87.	Charm against leprosy.	*Śveta-kushtha-nāśanam* (Ath. Veda I, 23)
88.	Charm over the expectant mother.	*Garbha-dosha-nivāraṇam* (Ath. Veda VIII, 6)
89.	Charm over the new born infant.	*Maṅgala-kāmanā*
90.	Charm over the darling's first two births.	*Dirghāyushtvam*
91.	Charm for wooing of a bride through a friend.	*Jāyā-kāmanā* (Ath. Veda VI, 82)
92.	Charm over cutting a new channel for irrigation.	*Kulyā-khananam*
93.	Charm against malarial fever or rheumatism.	*Takma-nāśanam*

S. No.	*Subject*	*Vedic Reference*
94.	Charm against late or scanty rainfall.	*Suvrishṭih*
95.	Charm against storm that ruined ripe barley.	*Vātya*
96.	Charm against lightning that struck his cattle and other misfortunes caused by the anger of the gods and the malevolence of the demons.	*Vidyut* (Ath. Veda, I, 13,1-4)
97.	Charm to free the travelling merchants' path from wild beasts, robbers and enemies.	*Mārga-svastyayanam*
98.	Charm of *aśvattha* wood to secure defeat[1] and destruction of enemies.	*Aśvattha-maṇiḥ*
99.	Charm against the ill omen arising from the birth of twin calves or the twin children.	*Yugma-prasutiḥ*
100.	Charm addressed to *Arundhatī*[2], a plant to mend a broken bone.	*Arundhatī*
101.	Charm to drive away *Gandharvas*[3] and *Apsarasas*.	*Gandharvā psaro-Vidrā aṇam* (Ath. Veda, IV, 37, 11)
102.	Charm against jealousy.	*Īrshā nivāraṇam*
103.	Charm of citron wood to act as shield against ill luck.	*Sriktya-maṇiḥ*
104.	Charm of *udumbara*[4] wood for wealth and good friends.	*Udumbara-maṇiḥ* (Ath. Veda, XIX, 31)
105.	*Sātavāra*[5] amulet to drive away demons and *Rakshasas*	*Sātavāra-maṇiḥ* (Ath. Veda, XIX, 36)

1. यथाश्चत्थ वानस्पत्या नारोहन्कृणुषेऽधरान् ।
एवा मे शत्रो मूर्धानं विष्वग् भिन्धि सहस्व च ॥

(*Ath. Veda*, III, 6, 6)

2. रोहण्यसि रोहण्यस्थ्न-श्छिन्नस्य रोहणी ।
रोहयेदमरुन्धति ।

(*Ath. Veda*, IV, 12, 1)

3. *Gandharvas*, described as hairy like dogs, monkies etc.
svevaikah kapirivaikch kumarch sarva-kesakah (*Ath. Veda* IV, 37, 11)

4. अय-मौदुम्बरो मणि-र्वीरो वीराय बध्यते ।
सनिः सनी मधमंती कृणोत रयिं च नः सर्ववीर नियच्छात् ।

5. हिरण्यशृङ्ग ऋषभ : शातवारो अयं मणि :
दुर्णाम्न : सर्वास्तृड्ढाव रक्षांस्यक्रमीत् ॥
शतमहं दुर्णाम्नीनां गन्धर्वाप्सरसां शतम ।
शतं शाश्वतीनां शतवारेण वारये ॥

(*Ath. Veda*. XIX, 36, 5)

S. No.	*Subject*	*Vedic Reference*
106.	Shell amulet[1] for securing vigour and energy lasting for hundred years.	*Sankha-maṇiḥ* (Ath. Veda, IV, 10, 4)
107.	Charm against impotency.	*Vājī-karaṇam. klīvatvam*
108.	Charm called *darbha-maṇiḥ* (amulet made of *darbha* blades).	*Darbha-manih* (Ath. Veda, XIX, 28)
109.	Charm of centipede-powder[2] against infidelity of wife.	(Ath. Veda, II, 36, 3-4 or I 27, 1-4)
110.	Charm for sharpening intellect.	*Medhā-jananam* *Medhā-vardhanam*
111.	Prayer for victory.	*Vijayāya prarthanā*
112.	Charm against consumption.	*Yakshma-nāśanam*
113.	Charm for winning a well-bred girl.	*Kulapā kanyā*
114.	Charm for securing health.	*Pushti-karma*
115.	Charm for discomfiture of enemy.	*Śatru-bādhanam*
116.	Charm against poverty.	*Alakshmi-nāśanam*
117.	Charm against heart-trouble.	*Hridroga-kāmilā-nāśanam*
118.	Charm against fever.	*Jvara-nāśanam*
119.	Charm for securing peace and concordance.	*Śarma-prāptiḥ*
120.	Charm for prosperity of kingdom and destruction of rivals.	*Rāshtrābhi-vardhanam* *Sapatna-kshayaṇam* (*Abhīvarta-maṇiḥ*)
121.	Charm against bondage.	*Pāśa-mochanam*
122.	Charm for destruction of enemies.	*Śatru-nāśanam*
123.	Charm for destruction of robbers and marauders.	*Dasyu-nāśanam*
124.	Charm for general security.	*Surakshā*
125.	Charm for obtaining prowess.	*Bala-prāptiḥ*
126.	Charm to secure defeat and discomfiture of enemy.	*Śatru-parājayaḥ*

1. शङ्खे नामीवा-ममतिं शङ्खे नोत सदान्वा : ।
शङ्खो नो विश्वभेषज : कृशन : पात्वंहस : ॥
2. दिविजात: समुद्रज: सिन्धुतस्पर्यीभृत : ।
सनो हिरण्यज: शङ्ख : आयुष्प्रतरणो मणि : ॥

(*Ath. Veda.* IV, 10, 3-4)

S. No.	*Subject*	*Vedic Reference*
127.	Charm to win over the favour of the beloved.	*Kāminī-mano-bhimukhī karaṇam* (Ath. Veda, II, 4, 5, 30)
128.	Charm to be worn at the time of electing a king by the subject.	*Prajabhi rājñaḥ saṁvaraṇam*
129.	Charm for security of the kingdom.	*Rāshtra-dhāraṇam*
130.	Charm against sorrow and pain.	*Duhkh-nāśanam*
131.	Charm for success in agriculture.	*Kṛishiḥ*
132.	Charm to be worn by king at the time of coronation.	*Rājyā-bhishekaḥ*
133.	Charm to drive away sins.	*Pāpa-mochanam*
134.	Charm for securing sound sleep.	*Svāpanam*
135.	Charm to defy death.	*Mrityu-santaraṇam*
136.	Charm to counteract snake's poison.	*Sarpa-Visha-nivāraṇam*
137.	Charm against eye-diseases.	*Akshi-roga-bheshajam*
138.	Charm for protection of foetus.	*Garbha-driṁhṇam*
139.	Charm for growth of luxurious hair.	*Keśa-vardhanī aushadhiḥ*
140.	Charm to secure mental harmony and concordance.	*Paraspara-chittaikī karaṇam*
141.	Charm to allay anger.	*Manyu-nāśanam*
142.	Charm to destroy the effect of bad dreams.	*Duḥ-svapna-nāśanam*
143.	Charm for protection against snakes.	*Sarpebhyo-rakshaṇam*
144.	Charm for securing fame.	*Yaśah-prāptiḥ*
145.	Charm for making a cow love her calf.	*Aghnyā*
146.	Charm for victory in battle.	*Sañgrāma-jayaḥ*
147.	Charm for securing sweetness in eatables.	*Madhuma dannam*
148.	Charm to be absolved of debt.	*Ānṛiṇyam*
149.	Charm for attainment of the spheres where the pious go.	*Sukritasya lokaḥ Sukrita-loka-prāptiḥ*
150.	Charm to be worn at the time of wearing girdle (*mekhalā*) for securing longevity and intellectual eminence.	*Mekhalā-bandhanam*

S. No.	*Subject*	*Vedic Refeernce*
151.	Charm against impotency.	*Klīvatvam*
152.	Charm of *sahasra-parṇī* herb for augmenting good fortune.	*Saubhagya-vardhanam*
153.	Incantation for making the two canine teeth, just emerging, auspicious.	*Sumangalau dantau*
154.	Charm for securing good harvest.	*Anna-samriddhiḥ*
155.	Charm for timely rain.	*Vṛishtiḥ*
156.	Charm for progeny.	*Prajaḥ*
157.	Charm to be worn at the time of wearing new clothes.	*Vāsaḥ*
158.	Charm for curing *gandamālā* inflammation of glands of neck.	*Gandamālā-chikitsā*
159.	Charm for securing immortality.	*Amritatvam*
160.	Charm to be worn at the time of wearing armour.	*Varma-dhāraṇam*
161.	Charm for securing victory over enemies, worn on person like armour made of *sraktya* wood.	*Pratisaro-maṇiḥ*
162.	Amulet made of *varana* wood for destruction of enemies.	*Sapatna-kshayaṇo-varaṇa-maṇiḥ*
163.	Amulet to be worn at the time of wearing gold on person.	*Hiraṇya--dhāraṇam* (Ath. Veda XIX, 35 3, 36)
164.	Amulet for preserving the vitality of various organs and faculties.	*Aṅgāni*
165.	Amulet for securing full span of life.	*Pūrṇāyuḥ*
166.	Amulet for securing friendship and goodwill of all.	*Sarva-priyatvam*
167.	Invocatory *mantra*[1] to ward off the evil effect when skirt of his garment is blown upon the man by the wind.	
168.	Invocatory *mantra* when a bird has befouled a man with its excrement.	
169.	Invocatory *mantra* when a drop of water unexpectedly falls down upon a man.	

1. The Invocatory *mantras* described under serial nos. 167-181 are cited from the *Hiranykesin Grihyasutra*.

S. No.	*Subject*	*Vedic Reference*
170.	Invocatory *mantra* when a fruit unexpectedly falls down upon a man.	
171.	Invocatory *mantra* when a man comes to a cross-road.	
172.	Invocatory *mantra* when a man comes to a place that is frequented by serpents.	
173.	Invocatory *mantra* when a man is overtaken by a tornado.	
174.	Invocatory *mantra* to ward off the evil effect when a man is approaching a beautiful place, a sacrificial site or a big tree.	
175.	Invocatory *mantra* when a man comes to a dung heap.	
176.	Invocatory *mantra* when a man is about to plunge intoa river full of deep water.	
177.	Invocatory *mantra*; if the sun rises whilst a man is sleeping he shall fast that day and shall stand silent during that day. The same during the night, if the sun sets whilst he sleeps.	
178.	Invocatory *mantra* if a man is sitting out on a road.	
179.	Invocatory *mantra* against an inauspicious bird.	
180.	Invocatory *mantra* against a solitary jackal.	
181.	Invocatory *mantra* when a man sees a bad dream.	*Duḥsvapna-nāśanam*

Parallelisms Between the Indus and the Vedic Cultures (IV)

(Conclusions)

In the preceding chapter has been given a list of nearly two hundred amulets, charms and prayer formulae drawn from the *Atharva-veda* and other Vedic literature. It shows the diversity of purpose for which they were used by the people of the Middle and the Late Vedic periods. From the weighty matters like victory in the battle field, the restoration of the expelled or defeated king to the trifling things like the bringing home of the cattle, anointing of eyes, counteracting the effects of bad dreams, etc., every conceivable objective of life was aimed to be achieved through the instrumentality of amulets and charms. There were charms for personal welfare, for securing peace and prosperity, success in love, family concordance, driving away demons, diseases, menace of wild beasts, snakes and other poisonous reptiles, for removing abortion, sterility and impotency and ensuring birth of male offspring. In business matters also the people made use of these instruments of superstition to safeguard their diverse interests. They wore amulets on their persons in the belief that they guaranteed prosperity in business and safe journey to distant lands free from the attack of robbers, wild beasts etc. By having recourse to this sort of remedy they also thought that they could overcome their rivals.

The agriculturists made extensive use of these *manis* in the belief that they had the miraculous power of bringing seasonable rain to their harvests, and destroying vermins, parasites and the noxious creatures that destroyed their crops. The magic of these charms was also supposed to bring in fair weather when so desired, avert lightning shocks and remove the anger of the gods and the malevolence of demons. At the time of yoking a young ox, or cutting a new water channel for the fields they sought the aid of charms.

Some charms of exceptional strength were supposed to invest the wearer with miraculous powers like invisibility, the defeat of the enemy in the battle etc. Others of weaker nature were deemed serviceable for promoting the growth of luxurious hair and auspicious at the time of shaving one's beard for the first time on the attainment of youth. Some herb-amulets were used for mending broken bones. Many amulets were made of organic substances such as buckhorn, *darbha* grass, wood of *udumbara* (उदुम्बर), citron, *asv.ttha*, *jangida* and several other herbs.

There were charms against dysentery, constipation and suppression of urine, fever, headache and cough, demons, misfortune, dangerous and hereditary diseases, vermins and noxious creatures; enemies and goblins, abortion, consumption, rheumatism, rivals, tigers, wolves, thieves, witchcraft, parasite worms, evil dreams, insanity, poisonous bites and stings, rivals in love, leprosy, late or scanty rainfall, storm that ruined ripe barley, lightning that struck cattle and other misfortunes caused by the anger of gods and malevolence of demons, and charms against jealousy, impotency etc.

There were also charms for securing happiness, love, health and prosperity, death and destruction of enemies in battle, restoration of expelled king, recovery of sick man, discomfiture and destruction of hostile priests; increase of cattle wealth, power and prominence, for conception and birth of a male child, growth of luxurious hair, reconciliation of estranged friends, protection of cattle and men, protection of house from fire, fine weather, vigour and energy lasting for a hundred years. Some charms and *yantras* were worn by the expectant mothers and some were bound on the newly born infants.

There were prayer formulae intended to secure peace and prosperity, general protection, seasonable rain, protection from poison, plentiful harvest, prosperity of cattle, health and wealth, detection and destruction of evil spirits, protection from arrows etc.

Verily, if we compare the two pictures of the contemporary social life of the periods as manifested in the works of the Indus artists and as described in the *Atharvaveda* we cannot help feeling that a community of ideas underlies the two pictures. The spirit of the two cultures breathes an air of superstition and animistic idiosyncrasies almost identical with each other. The conditions of daily life and the worldly problems of the two peoples were also not much different. The ideas and the circumstances which motivated the production of enormous number of amulets and charms described in the *Atharvaveda* could be applied equally well to the conditions of life in which the Indus people lived. Majority of the countless seals and sealings of the Indus Age were not mere signets bearing names of private persons. Steeped as these people were in superstitious ignorance they seriously believed in the potency of charms and took them to be sure remedies for overcoming even minor difficulties. The texts on these seals cannot be all personal names of owners, though some of them must have contained this element too, as a necessary part of the invocatory formula (*mantra*). It is indeed a riddle that though hundreds of large stamping seals have been found in the Indus Valley, not a single corresponding impression has been recovered from any of the principal sites. Similarly hundreds of seal impressions have come to light in the same area but not a single seal has been picked up from the excavation that could be the matrix of a particular known sealing. Whether these seals were used as personal signets or amulets since they are matrices (negative moulds) for preparing positives, one should have expected

an equally large number of seal impressions corresponding to the matrices. But the expectation has not come to be true.

I find that the spirit of the age as enshrined in the two kinds of records—one the documentary comprised by the Indus seals and the other literary furnished by the *Atharvaveda* and the *Satapatha Brahmana*, breathes an air of striking similarity. In the Middle Vedic Age, represented by the *Atharvaveda*, the amulets and charms were used for remedying many diseases. Even the herbs that actually possessed certain curative powers were invested with animistic powers and thought to be divine agents. In their outdoor ventures and long journeys men fortified themselves with amulets and magic herbs. *Jangida*, a plant, is frequently mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* as a charm against demons.[1] Amulets made of *asvattha* wood were frequently used for securing defeat and destruction of enemies. There is allusion to several herbs like *Arundhatī*, *Apāmārga*, *Parāk-pushpī* and *Pratyak parṇī* and *Ajā-śringī* (also called *Achyranthes Aspera*), *Guggulu*, *Naladi*, *Auksha-gandhī* and *Parmandinī* and to their efficacy in various ailments and troubles. *Arundhati* could mend a broken bone, *Apāmāgra* could make the sting of a scorpion innocuous and *Ajā śringī* and others were believed to drive away evil spirits. Mention may also be made of a plant called *Nitatnī* which Jamadagni dug to make his daughter's locks grow long.[2] Hymn VII, 45, of the *Atharvaveda* is a charm against jealousy. About this it is said that it was brought from Sindhu (the Indus Valley) from a folk of very mingled race.[3] *Vishā* and *Vishātakī* herbs and the wood of *sraktya* and citron were also used for making charms. A verse says, 'Let the god's charm be bound on me to keep me safe from every ill.' In praise of another herb it has been stated that first of all it was worn by Brihaspati[4]. At

1. *Jangidamaṇih* (Ath. Veda, XIX, 34)

2. यां जमदग्नि-रखन-द्दुहित्रे केशवर्धनीम् ।

(*Ath. Veda*, VI, 137, 1)

तां वीतहव्य आभरदसितेभ्य : गृहेभ्य :
देवीं देव्या मभिजाता पृथिव्यामस्योषधे ।
तां त्वा नितत्नि केशेभ्यो वृंहणाय खनामसि ।।

(*Ath. Veda*, VI, 136, 1)

केशा नडा इव वर्धन्तां शीर्षास्ते असिता : परि ।

(*Ath. Veda*, VI, 137, 2)

N.B. *Nitatni* is an unidentified plant with deep roots and therefore supposed to strengthen the roots of the hair.

3. जनात् विश्वजनीनात् सिन्धुत-स्पर्याभृतम् ।
दूरात्त्वा मन्य उद्धृत-मीर्ष्याया नाम भेषजम् ।।

(*Ath. Veda*, VII, 45, 1)

4. आमारुक्त-देवमणि-र्मह्या अरिष्टतातये ।
इमं मेथिमभि संविशध्वं तनूपानं त्रिवरूथ-मोजसे ।।

(*Ath. Veda*, VIII, 5, 20)

5. या-मबध्नात् बृहस्पति-र्मणिं फालं घृतश्च त-मुग्रं खदिर-मोजसे ।

(*Ath. Veda*, X, 6, 6)

one place the priest, while tying a charm on the person of a *yajamāna* (sacrificer) utters the following *mantra* :

> 'For manly strength Prajapati bound thee on at first, invincible.
>
> This for long life on thee I bind for splendour, strength and energy. Invincible, let it guard thee well."[1]

From two verses of the *Atharvaveda* it becomes evident that amulets were decked with gold chains; kept in the house with all hospitality like guests and served with offerings of food, clarified butter, wine and meat ; and invoked to grant boons to the hosts and looked after as a father doth the son.[2] Besides wood of plants, herbs and other material, amulets were also fashioned out of stag's horns and shell. From a verse of the *Atharvaveda* (III, 7, 1) we learn that charms were made of horns, but there is no allusion to the medical properties of the ammonia which it contains.[3] One full hymn of the *Atharvaveda* relates to a protective amulet of shell. In it the origin of shell is glorified. It is said to have been produced from the rain that fell into the sea from the windy sky. It was used for embellishing the quiver and the chariot by inlay work and supposed to possess healing powers and the power to drive away diseases and prolonging the life of the wearer of the shell amulet. It is further said that shell was brought from Sindhu which may mean the sea or the Indus region, most probably the latter, as sea is definitely termed as *samudra* in another verse. It is worth noting that the buckhorn and the shell have been found plentifully in the ruins of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. The latter was used mostly for manufacturing art objects of decorative and utilitarian character, such as balls, inlay pieces, cones etc., some of which might have served the purpose of

---

1. प्रजापति-ष्ट्वा बध्नात् प्रथम-मस्तृतं वीर्याय कम ।
तत्ते बध्नाम्यायुषे वर्चसे ओजसे च बलाय ।।
चास्तृतस्याभि रक्षतु ।
(*Ath. Veda*, XIX, 46, 1)

2. हिरण्यस्रगयं मणि : श्रद्धां यज्ञं महो दधत् ।
गृहे वसतु नोऽतिथि : ।।
(*Ath. Veda*, X, 6, 4)

तस्मै घृतं सुरां मध्वन्न मन्नं क्षयामहे ।
स नः पितेव पुत्रेभ्यः श्रेयः श्रेयः चिकित्सतु ।।
भूयो भूयः श्वः श्वो देवेभ्यो मणिरेत्य ।।
(*Ath. Veda*, X, 6. 5)

3. हरिणस्य रघुष्यदोऽभि शीर्षणि भेषजम्
स क्षेत्रियं विषाणया विषूचीन मनीनशत्
(*Ath. Veda*, III, 7, 1)

हिरण्याना-मेकोऽसि सोमात्त्व मधि जज्ञिषे
रथे त्वमसि दर्शन इषुधौ रोचनस्त्वं प्रण-आयूंषि तारिषम्
(*Ath. Veda*, IV, 10, 6)

amulets and charms. Elsewhere a priest binding it on the person of a *yajamāna* ejaculates :

> "I bind this on thee for life, strength and vigour[1], for long life lasting through a hundred autumns.

May the pearl's mother keep and guard thee safely"[2]

It is interesting to note that the name of Sindhu, which in some places definitely means the Indus region, frequently occurs in the *Atharvaveda.* It appears that in the Vedic age synchronizing with the period of this *Samhita* there was commercial intercourse between the Indus Valley, the Gangetic plain and other parts of northern India. For example, there is a commodity called *gulgulu* (bdelliun) which was obtained from the Indus Valley.[3] May be that here in this verse (Ath. Veda XIX, 38, 2) there is some vague reference to Sumer and Babylonia which were the originators of a very high civilization in Western Asia. No wonder that in some verses of the *Atharvaveda* there occur a few proper names of gods or high personages that sound Babylonian. Such seem to be the names of Taimata[4], Aligi, Viligi and *Urugūlā.* These are certainly un-Indian. Taimata is very similar to the Babylonian goddess Tiamat, the queen of the Hades. Similarly Aligi, Viligi and Urugula sound Sumerian names. This evidence would also point to the contemporaneity of the culture of Babylonia with the one represented by the *Atharvaveda.* In a verse of this *Samhitā* the impetuous and vigorous Sindhu (the Indus river) is eulogized as lord of the streams.[5] Elsewhere the smaller streams are described as flowing down from the snowy mountains to meet Sindhu.[6] They are

1. देवाना-मस्थि कृशनं वभूव तदात्मन्वच्चरत्यप्स्वन्त : ।
तत्ते बध्नाम्यायुषे वर्चसे बलाय दीर्घायत्वाय ।।
(*Ath. Veda*, IV, 10, 7)

2. विष्वञ्चस्तस्माद् यक्ष्मा मृगा अश्वा इवेरते ।
यद् गुल्गुलु सैन्धवं यद्वाप्यासि समुद्रियम् ।।
(*Ath. Veda*, XIX, 38, 2)

3. असितस्य तैमातस्य बभ्रो-रपोदकस्य च ।
सात्रासाहस्याहं मन्योरिव ज्यामिव धन्वनो
विमुञ्चामि रथाँ इव

4. आलिगी च विलिगी च पिता च माता च ।
विद्म वः सर्वतो बन्ध्वरसाः किं करिष्यथ ।।
उरुगूलाया दुहिता जाता दास्यसिक्न्या । प्रतङ्कं
दद्रषीणाँ सर्वासा-मरसं विषम् ।
(*Ath. Veda*, V, 13, 7 and 8)

5. यथा सिन्धु-र्नदीनां साम्राज्यं सषुवे वृषा ।
एवा त्वं सम्राज्ञ्येधि पत्युरस्त परेत्य ।।
(*Ath Veda*, XIV, 1, 43)

6. हिमवतः प्रस्रवन्ति सिन्धौ समह सङ्गमः ।
आपो ह मह्यं तद्देवी-र्ददन् हृद्यो त भेषजम् ।।
(*Ath. Veda*, VI, 24, 1)

said to be the wives and subjects of the Lord Sindhu.[1] Here Sindhu most probably means the Indus river.

As has already been noticed, the shell (conch shell and the mother of pearl shell) which was prized so highly for its sanctity and as a valuable commodity for manufacturing art objects, charms and amulets, came from the Indus region or from the Arabian Sea which formed its western boundary. There is also mention of two winds blowing from the Sindhu from a distant land[2] and of a simile which compares overcoming of sorrows with the crossing of the flooded Indus by means of a boat.[3] *Sapta-Sindhu* occurs only once in the *Rigveda* as the designation of a definite country.[4]

In the verse quoted below in footnote No. 5 it is said that the gods' bones turned into shell.[5] In the *Rigveda*, too, there are references which clearly show that even in that early Vedic period beliefs in the efficacy of charms did exist, but they were then in their nascent stage. For at one place it is enjoined that the silent repetition (*japa*) of a certain verse is a sure protection against murderer, a wolf or a tiger, and a traveller who repeats it for three nights, each time until sunrise, becomes invisible to robbers, and is able to screen others from their attacks.[6] There is also mention of *visha-vidyā*, the

---

1. सिन्धु पत्नीः सिन्धुरातीः सर्वा या नद्य स्थन ।
दत्त नस्तस्य भेपजं तेना वो भुनजामहै ॥

(*Ath. Veda*, VI, 24, 1)

2. द्वाविमौ वातौ वात आसिन्धो-रापरावतः ।
दक्ष ं ते अन्य आवातु व्यन्यो वात यद्रप ॥

(*Ath. Veda*, IV, 13, 2)

3. स नः सिन्धुमिव नायाति पर्षा स्वस्तये ।
अप नः शोशुचदघम् ।

(*Ath. Veda*, IV, 33, 8)

4. य ऋत्ता दंहसो मुचद्या वार्यात्सप्तसिन्धुषु ।
तत्ते वध्नाम्यायुषे वर्चसे बलाय दीर्घायुष्टवाय शतशारदाय
वधर्दासस्य तुविनृम्म नीनम : ।

(*Ath. Veda*, VIII, 4, 24, 27)

5. देवाना मस्थि कृशनं वभूव तदात्मन्य-च्चरत्य-प्स्वन्तः
कर्शनस्त्वाभिरक्षतु ।

6. न मां गरन्नद्यो मातृतमा दासा यदीं सुसमुब्ध मवाधुः ।
शिरो यदस्य त्रैतनो वितक्षत्स्त्रयं दास उरो अंसावपि ग्ध ॥

(*Ath. Veda*, I, 22, 2, 5)

Sayana's commentary on the above verse :

आततायिन-भायान्त ं द ृष्ट्वा व्याघ्रमथो वृकम ।
न मां गरन्निति जपंस्तेभ्य एव प्रमुच्यते ॥
पश्यन्ति तस्करा नैनं तथान्ये पापबुद्धयः ।
एकः शतानि त्रायेत तस्करेभ्यश्चरन् पथि ॥

science of poison or of antidotes, whence it is also termed *'madhu-vidyā'*, the science of ambrosia.[1]

A review of the whole problem as set forth above tends to point to the inference that the conditions of life envisaged in the *Atharvaveda* are very much in accord with those under which people lived in the Indus Valley some five thousand years ago. From this investigation it would appear that the *Rigveda* is much older than the Indus Civilization. There are some cultural elements that were well known to the Indus people as well as to the *Atharvaveda*, but unknown to the Rigveda. For instance, wheat was known to the former two but absolutely unknown to the *Rigveda*. Similarly, tiger is a very familiar animal in the Indus and the Atharvan periods, but it is not mentioned even once in the *Rigveda*. Again the *asvattha* tree (*ficus religiosa*) is totally unknown to the *Rigveda*. It is not only well known to the *Atharvaveda* and the Indus people, but in both of them it is most sacred and finds a highly elaborate literary as well as pictorial expression. The archaeological as also the literary evidence so far available does permit to assert with certain amount of confidence that the *Atharvaveda* and the Indus Civilization were contemporary. It may be stated with particular emphasis on the point that so far as superstitions and the animistic beliefs are reflected in the amulets and charms, the two cultures represented by the Indus Civilization on the one hand and the *Atharvaveda* on the other, reveal striking similarities. There are other elements as well that would lend support to this hypothesis. These have already been dealt with in some detail in previous chapters and are recapitulated in summary form below for clear understanding of the issue involved.

1. In the Indus Valley the bull, the peacock, the lotus as well as *aśvattha* and *śamī* were regarded sacred objects and having association with the Solar World. In a mysterious way they were believed to help the spirit of the dead person (*Preta*) to attain those radiant spheres. The sanctity of these animals and plants and their divine character was well established in the time of *Atharvaveda* and the *Satapatha Brahmana*.

2. The joys of heaven are vaguely referred to in the Rigveda (IX, 13). It is said that there are eternal light and swift running waters, movement unrestricted, spirit food, etc. But the idea of heaven and hell and the spirit's journey to the higher region through

---

1 One formula of which, as cited by Sayana, is :

"Having taken the position in the solar orb with the fourth finger, having made it ambrosia, and caused them to blend together, may it become poisonless"

Referring to the above passage Wilson remarks :

"By the *Surya-Mandala* or orb of the sun, probably to be understood a mythical diagram or figure wholly or partly of the solar orb, the sun being considered as especially instrumental in counteracting the operation of poison.

Vishā-Vidya was originally taught by Indra to Dadhyanch, who communicated it to the Asvins and thereby lost his head."

the vast gulf of darkness finds clear expression only in the *Atharvaveda.* It explicitly mentions that proceeding by the path which the Fathers trod, the spirit of the deceased goes to the realm of eternal light, being invested with the lustre like that of the gods (Ath. Veda, V, 11,1). In the Indus age, too, conception of heaven and hell and the spirit's journey to the higher *lokas* was fully evolved as proved by the pictorial representations on the funeral pottery from Cemetery H at Harappa.

3. *Atharvaveda* mentions that an ox and a goat, called the *Panchaudana*, were sacrificed to facilitate the dead man's journey to the next world. The ox was probably to serve as a mount of the disembodied spirit and the goat acted as a path-finder or a guide. Both these functions are well illustrated in the paintings on the funeral pottery from the Indus Valley where the spirit of the dead (*Preta*) is riding on a fantastic bull and is also guided by the sacrificed goat, the counterpart of the Vedic *Panchaudana* goat.

4. In the *Rigveda* the soul is spoken of rather vaguely as going to water, plants etc. The same *Samhita* mentions a celestial tree under which the gods sit in the Third Heaven (*Svah*). But the *Atharvaveda* is more explicit about these matters. According to it the soul goes to the Solar World and the celestial tree is the fig tree (*asvattha*), which idea is fully illustrated in the paintings on the funeral pottery from Harappa.

5. From the vast number of their representations occurring on seals, sealings and funeral pottery we have seen that in the Indus Age the *aśvattha* (*ficus religiosa*) and the *śamī* (*acacia moduca*) were regarded as celestial trees, the one being the Tree of Knowledge (*Brahma-taru*) and the other the Tree of Life (*Jivana-taru*). The conception of *asvattha* and *sami* being twin tress, possessing peculiar sanctity for being used as on ceremonial occasions, finds full expression in the *Atharvaveda.* This *Samhita* relates full story about the origin of these twin celestial trees from sacrificial fire and their consequent sanctity on account of their being *yajñāvachara* (associates of sacrifice). The *Satapatha Brahmana* narrates the episode of Urvasi and Pururavas in connection with the origin of these plants from the sacrificial fire (*yajnagni*) and the *ukhā* (fire pan) respectively.

So far as the twin sacred trees of *asvattha* and *sami* are concerned the analogies between the Indus Age and the *Atharvaveda* become still closer and more convincing and conclusive. It has been shown above (p. 105—108 *supra*) how the two trees had their origin from the sacred fire (*yajnāgni*) and its container, the pan (*ukhā*) which the *Gandharvas* made over to him (Pururavas) for performing sacrifices in order to win back Urvasi. With this basic story in our mind it will be very tempting to read a pictorial representation of the origin of *asvattha* from *ukha* in the Mohenjo-daro seal No. 387 (fig. 116)[1] where a beautiful *pipal* tree is shown springing from a sacred altar which closely corresponds to the sacred pan described in the *Satapatha Brahmana.* In the same context it would also be

1. See p. 95 *supra.*

relevant to refer here to a few painted pot-sherds from Chanhudaro (fig. 171) which represent the *asvattha* tree springing from a pan-



Fig. 171.

like vessel which appears to be nothing else but an *ukha*. Another sherd from Mohenjo-daro bears a similar painting with the difference that here the tree *springing* from *ukha* is not *asvattha* but *sami* (fig. 172). In view of the detailed analogies the contemporaneity between the Indus Age and the Middle Vedic Age (as represented by the *Atharvaveda*) becomes all the more incontrovertible.



Fig. 172

6. The conception of bull as identical with Dharma is well developed in the *Atharvaveda*.[1] In the *Rigveda* he is only vaguely compared with *yajña* (sacrifice). In the Indus Age, too, to judge from its frequent occurrence on seals and in terracotta, some similar significance was attached to it. As male of the bovine species the bull was no doubt held sacred. Let it be remembered that the Indus people, like the Vedic Aryans, generally worshipped male gods.

7. Shell, ivory and buckhorn were regarded sacred materials in the Middle Vedic Age represented by the *Atharvaveda*. Shell was sacred because it was supposed to be the bone of the gods (*devānāmasthi krisanam babhūva*) while the buckhorn was used for making various amulets and charms on account of its certain healing properties. It was also valued for its medicinal properties. At the prehistoric sites of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro countless objects of shell, ivory and buckhorn have been unearthed. Their association with the human burials in the Cemeteries R 37 and H at Harappa shows that they were also regarded holy in that age.

8. In the Vedic Age the goat played an important role in the post-death ceremonies. A black cow (*Anustaranī*) or a black goat was sacrificed at the time of the dead person's cremation. In the *Atharvaveda* this goat is called *Panchaudana*. After sacrifice it was cooked and a ritual feast was held in honour of the deceased. This goat was to guide the spirit of the dead (*Preta*) across the impenetrable gulf of darkness. The counterpart of this *Panchaudana* goat also appears in the paintings on the funeral pottery from

Harappa. Besides, this animal also figures on many Indus seals, sometimes in fantastic shapes. For example there is an owlheaded goat (fig. 161), a buffalo headed goat, a bird-headed goat, etc.

9. The *Rigveda* does not prescribe offerings to the *Pitris* (the Manes). But in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Gobhila Grihyasutra* cakes (*pinda*), collyrium, perfumes, garments, ornaments, etc., were offered to the *Pitris* (dead ancestors) for their gratification in spirit. The same performance was observed in the human burials and the memorial jars (*śrāddha-bhāndas*) at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. In these graves and jars cosmetics, copper mirrors, toilet objects, mother of pearl shells, terracotta dummy cakes and nodules with finger marks (*pindas*) were recovered (see p. 151 *infra*). This showed that the post-death rituals of the Indus people and the Vedic Aryan of the *Atharvan* period were very much similar.

10. In the *Rigveda* there is no mention of the hell (*Naraka-loka*) but in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Katha Upanishad* the belief in hell is beyond question. This belief in hell is fully reflected in the pictorial representations of the Indus Valley as referred to above.

11. In the *Rigveda* human body is supposed to possess an unborn and undecayable essence. But in the *Atharvaveda* we find that soul, before it could complete its course from earth to the third heaven, had to traverse a vast gulf of darkness. This idea is fully developed in the Indus Age and in this respect it corresponds to the *Middle* Vedic Age as represented by the *Atharvaveda*.

12. A possible allusion to some Babylonian and Sumerian names in the *Atharvaveda* seems to suggest that in the Middle Vedic Age, represented by this *Samhita*, India was in contact with Mesopotamia. These names comprise Taimāta, Āligī, Viligī, Urugulā, Tābūva and Apsu. The evidence unearthed in the Indus Valley and ancient sites in Iraq has conclusively shown that in that age India had commercial and perhaps also political relations with Mesopotamia.

The Babylonian origin of these names was first noticed by Shri B.G. Tilak.[1] Recently Dr. V.S. Agrawala has thrown further light on the significance of these names in his article "Some Foreign Words in the Ancient Sanskrit Literature" published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXVII, March, 1951, No. 1.

Explaining the importance of these foreign words in the Ath. Veda (V, 13), Dr. Agrawala says:

"Important group of foreign words of Semitic origin is found in the *Atharvaveda* (V, 13) which is a charm against snake poison.

"*Taimata* of Ath. Veda (V, 13, 6) is *Taimat* or *Taimatu* the masculine form of *Taimat*.[2] There is a cosmic struggle between Bal

1. *Bhandarkar Comm. Volume, Chaldean and Indian Vedas.*
2. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 198.

Marduk and Taimat. The Epic of Creation in Babylonian tells us that even before the heavens were made, there existed Apsu and Mammu (and) *Taimat*[1]. *Taimat* was the great dragon to *tamtu*, the sea, it is the tehon of Genesis, meaning deep or waters".

"In Indian mythology, *Taimāta* is also a serpent's name, and therefore its connection with a dragon of the sea may be presumed. *Apsu* which is also a Vedic word (*Rigveda*, I, 118, 11 *apsu kshit* (VIII, 43, 38) *apsu-la*, VIII, 13, 2 and VIII, 36, 1 *apsu jit*, (victor of Apsu) is again a relic of the Babylonian mythology where *Apsu* is the name of the Hell of Ea which is the sea.[2] The titanic clash of Marduk, the chief deity of Babylon and Taimat is similar in pattern to the Indra and the Vritra Ahi saga of the Rigveda. *Urugūlā* is referred to as the black-skinned she-fiend (*Ath. Veda*, V, 13, 8). On the Babylonian side she corresponds to the goddess Gula, wife of Marduk. In Akkadian Urugula or Urugu denoted a big city which in Sumerian mythology was the abode of the manes in the underworld. The serpents belonging to the subterranean region have been designated as the progeny of Urugula."

Another interesting reference in the Ath. Veda is to *Āligī* and *Viligī* (V, 13, 7). According to Griffith, the words are unidentified. Tilak takes them to be old Akkadian words. Aligi has no corresponding name, but Viligi seems to tally with Bilgi, an ancient god in Assyrian mythology."[3]

Another important but difficult word in the Ath. Veda is *Tābūva* in the verse —

तावूवं न घैत् त्वमसि तावूवम्
तावूवेनारसं विषम् ।।

2 *Tabuva* means 'that which relates to tabu and tabu was perhaps considered as an act of purification against a sin or evil deed with which we may compare the Semitic word *taubah*. The effect of poison is spoken of as being neutralized by the *tābūva* charm as incantation. Griffith thought that *tabuva* was a supposed antidote that rendered snakes' poison ineffectual."

13. The Indus people were polytheistic. They worshipped many gods of whom the Sun God was the highest. He was their Supreme Deity. On the pottery of this period are painted numerous rayed orbs which unmistakably represent the Sun God (fig. 22, 23) During the *Atharvaveda* period also solar deity was the highest. He was worshipped in the form of Aditya Purusha. The *Atharva-Samhita* eulogizes this god in glowing terms. The same god is said to reside in the eyes of the living beings and as such is called the

1. *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p. 234.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Dr. Agrawala associates the names Aligi-Viligi with the Asura festivals *Naraka-Chaturdasi* (connected with *Narakasura*) *Yama-Ghanta*. *Yama-dvitiya and Bali Pratipat.*

Chākshusha Purusha. The same *Saṁhitā* further relates that the virtuous people reside in this solar world after death. On the Indus seals this *Āditya Purusha* is shown standing inside the split pipal tree which was sacred to the Sun God in the Vedic times (fig. 161). On the Indus pottery, too, there are encountered eye-shaped designs which could perhaps be representative of the *Chākshusha Purusha.* Further in the burial paintings of the Cemetery H/1 the spirit of the dead man is depicted as journeying to the Solar World. This is another significant link between the cultures of the Indus and the *Atharvan* periods pointing to their contemporaneity in time.

14. It has been shown above with illustrations that the Indus seals were used as amulets. A majority of large stamping seals have holes on their backs for receiving thread or metal wire wherewith they were tied on the person of the wearer. The *Atharvaveda* unequivocally states that the amulets (*manis*) were worn on person by means of thread or gold wire. They were kept in the house as guests or deities and offered rich food, meat and wine. Many of the seals excavated at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro bore smoke-marks suggesting that incenses were burnt and other offerings made before them by the householders.. These analogies between the Indus Valley and the *Atharvan* period are not found in the Rig-veda.

15. During the Atharvan period numerous herbs and plants were used for preparing amulets and charms. Various kinds of herbs and plants depicted on the Indus seals and the contemporary pottery also point to similar conditions. In the Rig-Veda there is seldom any such mention.

16. Again we find in a verse of the *Atharvaveda* (VII, 45, 1) the mention of an amulet against jealousy as having been brought from the cosmopolitan population of the Indus Valley. This evidence also points to the contemporaneity of the cultures represented by the Indus Valley and the *Atharvaveda.*

14

Secular Pottery and the Memorial Jars or Sraddha-Bhandas

Pottery is more abundant than any other class of finds recovered either from Harappa or Mohenjo-daro. Metal being scarce, pottery was commonly used by the rich and the poor alike, and consequently the potter's art had attained a high degree of perfection. Among the earthenware vessels an endless variety of shapes and sizes is to be met with. From the colossal storage jars, measuring about 3 ft. in height and almost the same in diameter at the centre, down to tiny vases, sometimes not more than a mere fraction of an inch in height, there is almost every gradation in size. Similarly, in shape the larger jars exhibit a variety of forms such as napiform (fig. 173 A), crateriform (fig. 173 B), shallow or deep troughs (fig. 173 C), large or medium-sized oval water jars etc. The smaller jars or vases display an

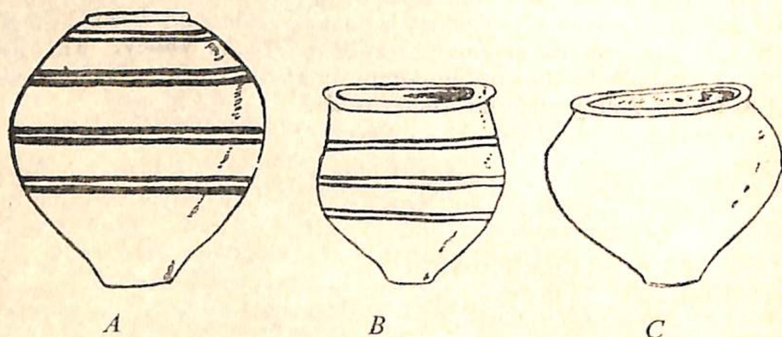


Fig. 173.

equally infinite variety of types—being oval, long oval, round bulgy, cylindrical, biconvex etc. Among rare types may be mentioned narrow-necked flat vases, cylindrical bottles, corn-measures (fig. 174/12) barbotine or pimpled ware and so on. The pottery was desgned to meet every conceivable domestic requirement. For instance, there are jar stands, platters, dishes, *handis*, basins, fruit-stands (fig. 174/3), censers, lids, standard dishes, and a host of other forms.

The commonest among the small-sized ware is the goblet with pointed base (*lota*) which was an ordinary drinking vessel like the present *kasaura* offered by milk-vendors on railway stations (fig. 175 *e*). Once used it was discarded and thrown away. This explains its preponderance at all levels in the mounds at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

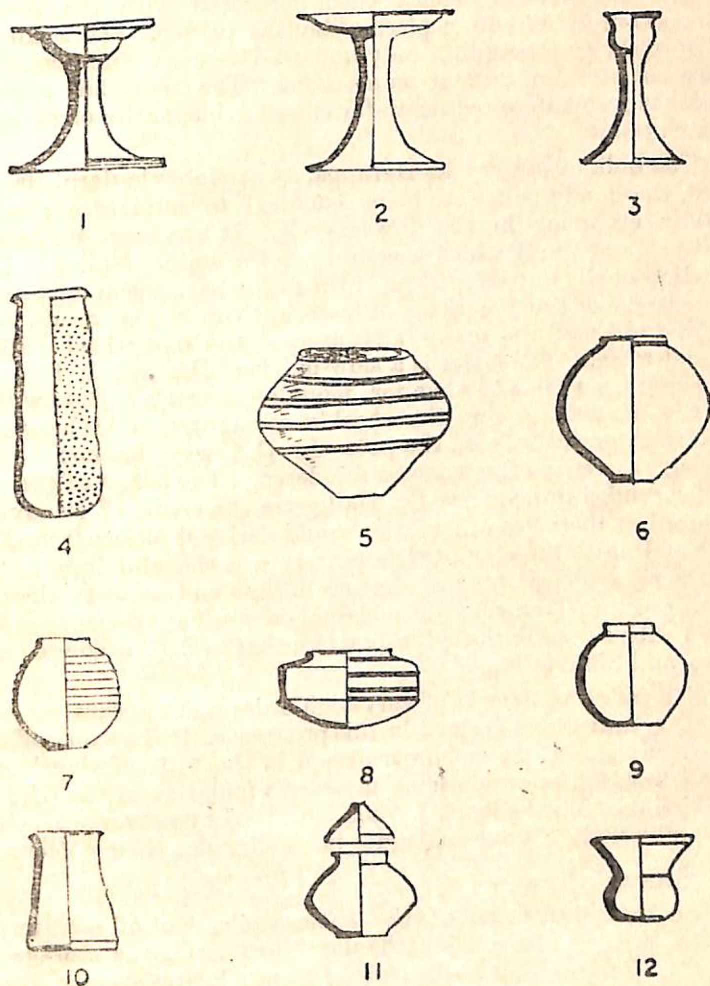


Fig. 174.

A number of miniature polychrome pottery including one pomegranade-shaped and several tapering cylindrical vases make a valuable addition to the collection of painted ware. The paintings on them have mostly faded away, but one vase still retains a fine leafy design executed in red and green on white ground.[1]

1. Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II, Pl. LXIX, 9.

To relieve the monotony of red ware there are numerous specimens of grey pottery in miniature. The Indus pottery is both plain and painted, the former far outnumbering the latter. Besides painting the other forms of decoration consist of embossed or incised designs and occasional cord-ornamentation. For manufacturing painted pottery the vessel was first red-washed then decorated with the design in black and burnished with a piece of bone or pebble, and finally fired. The burnishing process not only imparted a glossy appearance to its surface but also rendered it non-porous. The materials commonly used for pigment were red ochre for slip and haematite or manganese for black paint.

The bulk of pottery at Harappa, as at Mohenjo-daro, is wheel-turned, the hand-made ware being confined to miniature specimens generally occurring in the lower levels. It was most probably the primitive hand-wheel which was in use in the Indus Valley. The introduction of the improved type of the foot-wheel is generally ascribed to the Greeks or the Parthians in historical times. It needs no explanation to show the many advantages the foot-wheel had over the hand-wheel. The latter is a slow-moving disc which the potter has to spin from time to time for moulding vessels. But with the former, while his foot kept the wheel in constant spin, his hands were free to work exclusively on the pot. In this way he could go on throwing out vessel after vessel unhindered. The origin of the wheel is still shrouded in mystery. Dr. Hall gives the credit of its invention to Elam, but there are others who would derive it either from Egypt, Sumer or Iran. The clay used in pottery was the alluvium obtained from the river bed with an admixture of lime and sand as degraissants. Firing was done in open kilns or muffles, their tops being covered with the rubbish fuel, a practice that is still followed in the Panjab and Sind today.

The Indus pottery is of very high order and appears to be the work of artisans long trained in this profession. It does not offer any comparisons with Elam or Sumer except in the tall offerings' stands (fig. 174/2) which resemble some specimens found at Kish, Ur, Fars and Babylonia. Bowl-shaped jar-lids with projecting handles, common In the Indus Valley, have analogues in the Jamdet Nasr pottery.

Large Storage Jars

The most interesting of the entire collection of pottery from Harappa, as also from Mohenjo-daro, are the large storage jars. (fig. 172). They exhibit a diversity of form which is rarely equalled by the ceramic types in any other country of allied culture[1]. The most outstanding among them are the colossal napiform jars of thick fabric noticed above (fig. 173 A). For symmetry of form, perfect rotundity and high lustrous slip they can easily be classed as the most artistic ceramics of the Indus Valley. They have

1. 'In seal cutting and grace of pottery the Indus Civilization was ahead of the Sumerians at the beginning of the third millenium B.C. But that was a late phase of the Indus Civilization.' Childe G., New Light on the *Most Ancient East*, p. 211 ?

bulbous body, tapering base and neckless mouth with club-shaped thick rim. The largest among them measures 3 ft. in height and almost the same in diameter at the centre. Closely allied to the ware in purpose are long cylindrical and crateriform jars (fig. 173 B) and large open troughs (fig. 173 C) with wide mouth and tapering base.

Primarily the aforesaid large vessels served the requirements of domestic economy such as storing grain, water and other sundry articles of household consumption. But we also have evidence that they were put to a secondary use. In the excavations carried out at Harappa alone no less than 230 jars of this type were found in isolated positions laid alongside small pieces of wallings to which were also added small paved floors and flimsy drains. Moreover, the contents of a majority of these jars comprised a uniform set of miscellaneous articles which precluded the possibility of their being mere drainage jars or sumps for collecting sediments. Their contents included bones of cattle, chicken and fish, terracotta human and animal figurines, toy carts, wheels, balls, lumps of carbonized wheat and barley, mother of pearl shells, pieces of faience and terracotta bangles and bracelets, small lids and sling balls, terracotta tablets etc. (fig. 175). Some jars yielded among others exceptional contents like tortoise shell, ivory balusters, antlers, mica pieces, copper rods, weapons, seeds of melon, remains of chaff, dead worms etc. One of these jars was inscribed with three pictograms which was probably the name of the owner or of the deceased.

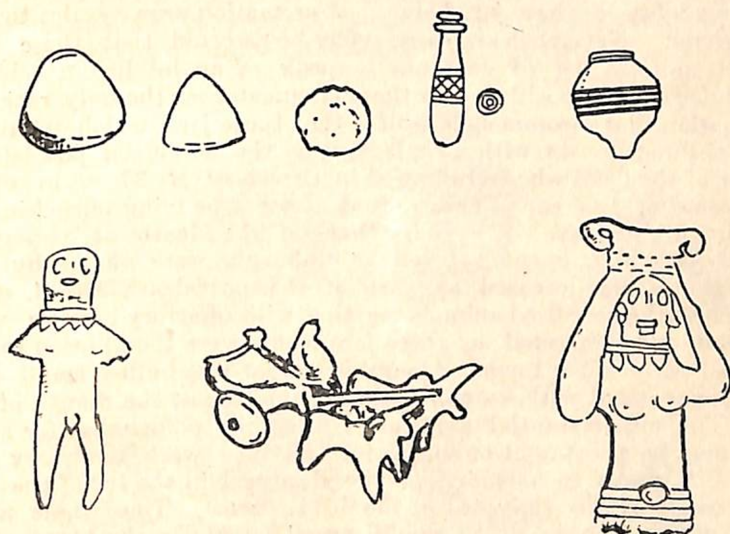


Fig. 175.

The whole deposit forming the contents of these jars showed that there was an intelligent scheme and purpose behind the performance. They could not be the soak-pits or sumps as suggested by some excavators. In the first place the pavements, drains and the iso-

lated pieces of walls, which formed structural necessaries to these jars, were too feeble and flimsy to serve any utilitarian purpose. They were mere dummies apparently intended to serve some ritual purpose. Secondly, the jars were mostly found in isolated conditions laid either leaning against the walls of the deserted houses or without any houses near about them. Thirdly, the contents of the jars mixed with earth deposits were through and through discoloured green showing constant contact with water. Sir John Marshall and Mr. Vats recognized the extraordinary character of these jars and called them the 'post-cremation urns'. In their opinion they contained the pounded bones, of the cremated dead bodies and were deposited there with the remains of the sacrificed animals along with other paraphernalia. Dr. Wheeler, however, disagreeing with the above view, opined that they had nothing to do either with cremation or with the disposal of the dead in any way. Sir John's exposition pre-supposed that as no cemetery of the early people had come to light, the only alternative left was to presume that they cremated their dead and the discovery of the jars seemed to confirm the presumption. It was surmised that as even now there is a custom in certain parts of the Panjab of consigning the pounded remains of the cremated dead to the nearest river, it was a reasonable inference that these jars contained the pounded remains of the cremated dead bodies.

Now with the discovery of Cemetery R 37 revealing that even the early Harappans practised inhumation and not cremation, the possibility of these jars being post-cremation urns recedes to the background. Nevertheless, it can safely be asserted that these jars with a uniform set of contents bespeak of an intelligent scheme underlying their deposition. In these circumstances the only rational explanation that recommends itself is that these jars, which definitely have nothing to do with drainage, are the sacrificial jars laid in honour of the dead who were buried in Cemetery R 37 or in other cemeteries of the early period that may yet be lying buried in the outskirts of Harappa. It appears that on the death of a person, animal sacrifices, burnt as well as unburnt, were made by the relatives of the deceased as part of the post-death ritual. The remains of the sacrificed animals together with offertory articles were collected and deposited in these jars which were then buried in the deserted parts of the town. Alongside the jar was built a small wall and a pavement with a small drain terminating at the mouth of the jar. The circumstantial evidence irresistibly points that for some time, may be a fortnight or so, water offerings were made by the nearest kinsmen in memory of the deceased in the belief that the ritual would gratify the spirit of the dead (*Preta*). The whole affair seems to have been an obsequial ritual not unlike the *tarpana* in a *Sraddha* ceremony still performed by the orthodox Hindus. This view is partially supported by the exceptional character of contents. For instance each jar had more or less quantity of ashes which presumably were the remains of burnt offerings. The animal bones were the remains of the sacrificed cattle, fowl, chickens etc. and the lumps of carbonized wheat and barley were no doubt the residue of

food offerings to the deceased for use in future life. The triangular clay cakes and balls (fig. 175, *a*, *c*) with finger marks were dummy *pindas* as substitutes for the real ones. This might have been due either to the scarcity of food grains or due to the permanent character of the substitutes which could last longer than the actual victuals. Among the contents of jars were also terracotta toys including male and female figurines (fig. 175, *f* and *h*), bulls, wheels, toy-carts (175, *g*), mother-of pearl shells (*sipis*), sometimes stone weapons, ornaments, pallets, vases etc. If the deceased happened to be a male, a male figurine was put in the memorial jar and a female figurine in the case of a woman. Probably the bullock cart was to ride on, ornaments for personal decoration, weapons for fighting enemies and evil spirits, eye paints and cosmetics for toilet and pottery and dummy objects were put in the jar for use of the spirit of the deceased. It becomes clear that the purpose underlying the deposition of these sacrificial jars did not differ much in purpose from the *Śrāddha* ceremony of the orthodox Hindus of today. The latter may be a cultural survival of the prehistoric funerary ritual current among the Indus people. It would be rational to regard these post-cremation jars or memorial urns as *Śrāddha-bhāndas*.

The commonest and the most popular form of decoration on pottery is painting. The motifs are invariably executed in black on a red ground. On large-sized ware the decoration consists mainly of series of black bands, but on the medium-sized and the small pottery these bands are relieved by geometric and plant designs with occasional sprinkling of animal motifs (fig. 176). Human motifs are very



Fig. 176.

rare, being represented by only a few examples at Harappa. Though monochrome painting is the rule, a few examples of polychrome pottery do testify that the technique was also known in the Indus Valley. The colours used in the scheme consist of red, black, green

and yellow. This type of painting was exclusively confined to miniature ware and restricted only to a few designs such as trefoil, intersecting circles and bippinate leafy forms.

The motifs appearing on the monochrome pottery are usually confined to plant life and geometric figures. Among the former can be recognised the *pipal*, acacia, neem, banana, date palm and reed. On the other hand geometric patterns consist of comb, T-shaped motifs, cross, net, wicker-work, fish-scale, rayed circles or orbs, dots, triangless, double triangles, chessboard, chequer, interlacing circles etc. (fig. 176).

Harappa has yielded a few painted sherds containing human motifs. One of them shows a man carrying across shoulders an equipoise at either end of which is suspended a wicker basket (fig. 177 *a*). This figure can be compared to the pictograph (fig. 152) which is only an abstract representation of the above carrier (*vaivadhika*). Another sherd shows a domestic scene in which figure a man and a child in a landscape setting composed of trees, animals, birds, etc. (fig. 178).




Fig. 177 *a*.





Fig. 178.

Besides painting the decoration on pottery also consists of incised, embossed and cord-ornamented designs. The designs generally comprise concentric and interlacing circles. Some wares contain potter's marks and seal impressions, the latter probably signifying ownership. Some miniature types show pimpled decoration on the exterior in the lower profile and are known as barbotine ware.

APPENDIX

English translation of the Sanskrit verses cited in the footnotes in the text[1]

1. Four are his horns, three are the feet that bear him,
His heads are two, his hands are seven in number,
Bound with a triple bond the steer roars loudly:
The mighty god hath entered into mortals.

(Ralph T. H. Griffith), p. 92, f. n. 1

2. The bull supports wide-spread earth and heaven.
The bull supports the spacious air between them;
The bull supports the sky, six spacious regions.
The universal world hath he pervaded.

p. 93, f. n. 1

3. The husband of the cows, the calves' father,
Father is he of mighty water-eddies,
That bull the husband of the kine,

p. 93, f. n. 2

4. The bull, the husband of the kine,
Pierces the demons with his horns;
Banishes famine with his eyes and
Hears good tidings with his ears.

p. 93, f. n. 3

5. To the bull honour is done by adorning it with bells, by lavish food, by anointing its horns, by incenses and garlands.

p. 93, f. n. 4

6. For divine justice (is said to be) a bull (vrisha); that man who violates it (*kurute'lam*) the gods consider to be (a man despicable like) a *Sudra* (*vrishala*); let him, therefore, beware of violating justice ;

p. 93, f. n. 5

7. On a costly car with his standard bearing the divine bull, and guiding the very van (of his division), the ruler of the Magadhas marched against the foe.

p. 93, f. n. 6

8 Bring thou the Fathers one and all, Agni, to eat the sacrifice.
The buried, and the cast away, those burnt with fire and those exposed.

p. 94, f. n. 3

9. Betake thee to the lap of the Mother Earth,
Far-spreading, very kind and gracious;
Young Dame, wool-soft unto the guerdon-giver,
May she preserve thee from Destruction's bosom.

p. 95, f. n. 2

1. Below the English translation of each verse is given the number of the page as well as of the footnote where the Sanskrit verse occurs.

10. In the tree clothed with goodly leaves,
Where Yama drinketh with the gods,
The Father, Master of the House, tendeth
With love our ancient sires.

p. 95, f. n. 2

11. In the third heaven above us stands
the *Aśvattha* tree, the seat of the gods,
There is embodiment of life that dies not,
Thence was *Kushṭha* born.

p. 95, f. n. 5

12. Go forth, go forth upon the ancient pathways,
Whereupon our sires of old have gone before us.
These shall thou look on both the kings,
enjoying their sacred food, god Varuna and Yama.

p. 95, f. n. 6

13. Carry the omentum, Jātavedas, to the Fathers, where thou knowest them resting afar. May streams of fat flow to them, May all these wishes be fulfilled.

p. 96, f. n. 1

14. The Goat *Pañchaudana*, when cooked, transpoteth,
Repelling *Nirriti*, to the world of Svarga
By him may we win worlds which Surya brightens.

p. 96, f. n. 2

15 Rise to that world, O Goat, where dwell the righteous,
Pass on like a *Śarabha*, veiled, all difficult places,
The Goat *Pañchaudana*, given to a Brahmana,
Shall with all fulness satisfy the giver.

p. 96, f. n. 3

16. The Goat is Agni, light they call him, saying that
Living man must give him to a Brahmana,
Given in this world by a devout believer, the goat
dispels and drives afar the darkness.

p. 96, f. n. 3/2

17. The goat is sacred to Agni,
Agni and Goat both being born of the
Mouth of Prajapati, have cognate birth.

p. 96, f. n. 4

18. Seize him and bring him hither, let him travel,
foreknower to the region of the pious,
Crossing in many a place the mighty darkness,
let the goat mount to the Third Heaven, above us.

p. 96, f. n. 5

19 Burn him not up, nor quite consume him, Agni,
let not his body or his skin be scattered,
O Jatavedas, when thou hast matured him,
then send him on his way unto the Fathers.

P. 97, f. n. 1

20. Run and outspeed the two dogs, Saramā's offspring,
brindled, four-eyed, upon this happy pathway.
Draw nigh then to the gracious-minded
Fathers where they rejoice in company with Yama.

p. 97, f. n. 2/1

21. And those two dogs of thine, Yama, the watchers,
The four-eyed, who look on men and guard the pathways,
Entrust this man, O King, to their protection,
and with prosperity and health endow them.

p. 97, f. n. 2/2

22. Page 97, footnote 3
N. B. The translation of the Sanskrit passage is given in the text on the same page. (11·8-11)

23. Page 98, f. n. 5
Same as f. n. 5, p. 97

24. The Sun receive thine eyes, the wind the spirit,
go, as thy merit is, to earth or heaven.
Go, if it be thy lot, unto the waters; go make
thine home in plants with all thy members.

p. 99. f. n. 1

25. Page 99, f. n. 3
Same as f. n. 2, p. 98

26. Skilled in a thousand ways and means,
the sages who protect the Sun
The Rishis, Yama, fervour-moved, even to
those let him depart.

P. 100, f. n. 1

27. From his dead hand I take the bow he carried,
that it may be our power and might and glory.
There art thou, there, and here with noble
heroes may we overcome all hosts that fight against us.

p. 100, f. n. 2

28. Page 101, footnote 1
Same as f. n. 2, p. 97

29. So have the peahens, three times seven,
So have the maiden Sisters Seven,
Carried thy venom, far away, as girls bear
water in their jars.

p. 101, f. n. 2

30. The emmets make meal of thee and peahens tear
and mangle thee.

31. All ye are crying out, in sooth the scorpion's poison hath no strength.

p. 101, f. n. 3

32. From the mind (of *Virāṭ Purusha*) sprang the moon,
From (His) eye the Sun, from mouth Indra and Fire
and from (His) breath was born Vayu (the wind)

P. 104, f. n. 2

33. This sun acts as ambrosia to all beings, and all beings react as ambrosia to the sun. The refulgent and immortal Being animating the solar disc and residing in the heart and eye of every person, is the Eternal Brahma pervading the universe.

Where this *Chākshusha Purusha* looks out to the external world.

p. 104, f. n. 3

That *Āditya Purusha* who, guided by the destiny, resides in the eye of every being, doing good to it during its life time, is the same as *Chākshusha Purusha.*

34. Formed with twelve spokes, too strong for age to
weaken, this wheel of During Order rolls round heaven,
Herein established, joined in pieces together,
Seven hundred sons and twenty stand, O Agni.

The wheel revolves, unwasting, with its felly,
ten draw it, yoked to the far-stretching car-pole,
Girt by the region moves the eye of the Surya,
On whom dependent rest all living creatures.

p. 104, f. n. 5

35. His heralds bear him aloft, the God who knoweth all that live.
Surya, that all may look on him.
The constellations pass away, like thieves, departing in the night.
Before the all-beholding Sun.

p. 104, f. n. 6

36. And the hero (Nakula) first assailed the mountainous country called Rohitaka that was dear unto (the celestial generalissimo) Karttikeya and which was delightful and prosperous and full of kine and every kind of wealth and produce. And the encounter the son of Pandu had with the *Matta-Mayūrakas* of that country was fierce.

p. 105, f n. 1

37. Having created the entire universe, Prajapati, still desirous of creating something sensational, became a horse, and, casting down his head low on the ground, lay in that condition for a year. Thereupon the tree of *aśvattha* burst forth from the head of *aśva* (horse); it became known *aśvattha* ever since. That is why it is Yajñāvachara and sacred to Prajapati.

p. 106, f. n. 1

38. The flaming splendour of fire entered the *aśvattha* tree. Thus the person who fetches sacrificial fuel of *aśvattha* brings splendour to sacrifice.

p. 106, f. n. 2

39. To Purūravas the Fire-god revealed his sacrificial form.
He carried off that form into his lap and transferred that to a pan (*ukhā*)
That fiery form changed into *aśvattha*.
That which was *ukhā* became *Śami.*
That is why they became sacrificial plants (*yajñāvachara*) and of pure birth (*puṇya-janmānau*).

p. 106, f. n. 3

40. What was seed (semen) became *aśvattha* and the jelly enveloping the seed became *Śamī*.

p. 106, f. n. 4

41. Herbs ! thy resting place is in *aśvattha* and thy abode in *Palāśa* tree. p. 107, f. n. 1

42. In the third heaven above us stands the *Aśvattha* tree, the seat of gods. There the gods gained the *kushṭha* plant, embodiment of endless life.

p. 107, f. n. 2

43. *Aśvattha* on the *śami* tree, there the male birth is certified. There is the finding of a son, this bring me to the women-folk.
p. 107, f. n. 3

44. The legend of Urvasī and Purūravas, as narrated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* to glorify the *araṇis* of *aśvattha* wood.
p. 107, f. n. 4

45. The *aśvattha* is sacred to the Sun, the *palāśa* to Yama, the *nyagrodha* is the tree that belongs to Varuna, the *ūdumbara* to Prajapati.
p. 108, f.n. 3

46. The staffs of *Brahmacharis* are of *parṇa* wood, of *bilva* wood, and of *aśvattha* wood.
Of *Parṇa* wood is the staff of the Brahmana,
Of *bilva* wood of the Kshatriya and of *avśvattha*
wood of the Vaisya. p. 108, f. n. 4

47. Who should not worship *aśvattha* (*ficus religiosa*)
At whose root resides Vishnu, in the middle Siva,
And on the top Brahma, the Creator.

p. 108. f. n. 6

48. Beholding that Balarama had attained salvation,
Bhagavan, the son of Devaki, quietly retired
to the foot of a big Pipal tree, which had shed its berries,
There, placing his right foot on the left thigh,
He lay on the bare ground. p. 109, f. n. 1

49. Thy joy is hair that falleth or is scattered,
Wherewith thou subjecteth a man to laughter,
To other trees, far from thee will I drive it,
Grow up there *Śamī*, with a hundred branches.
Auspicious, bearing mighty leaves, holy one,
nurtured by the rain,
Even as mother to her sons, be gracious,
Śamī ! to our hair. p. 110, f. n. 1

50 Some lay also branches of *Śamī* wood
as of *Parṇa* wood round the fire.

p. 110, f. n. 2

51. With *Parṇa* branch he drives away the calves,
And separates them from their mothers.
For the same purpose Kātyāyana prescribes
the use of the *Śamī* branch. Cuts down
a branch of *Parṇa* tree or the *Sami* tree.

p. 110, f. n. 3

52. As thou, *aśvattha*, mountest on the trees and
overthrowest them, so do thou break my foe-
man's heap asunder and overpower them.

p. 131, f. n. 1

53. Thou art the healer, making whole, the healer
of the broken bone.
Make thou this whole, Arundhatī.

p. 131, f. n. 2

54. For hero is this hero bound, amulet of Udumbara,
So may he make our offering sweetly-savoured,
And grant us wealth with all good men about us.

p. 131, f. n. 4

55. The bull that beareth horns of gold,
This amulet with hundred hairs,
Hath cleft the demons of ill name,
And overcome the *Rākshasas.*
Hundred she-fiends, a hundred of *Gandharvas*
and *Apsarasas* I keep away with hundred-hair.

p. 131, f. n. 5

56. We stay disease and indigence and chase
Sadānva with the shell.
May the all-healing shell that bears the pearl,
Preserve us from the distress.

p. 132, f. n. 1

57. Born in the heaven, sprung from the sea,
Brought to us from the flood,
This god-born shell shall be to us
An amulet to lengthen life.

p. 132, f. n. 2

58. The plant which Jamadagni dug up
to make his daughter's locks grow long,
This same hath Vītahavya brought to us
from Asita's abode.
Born from the bosom of the wide Earth the goddess,
god-like plant art thou;
So we Nitatni, dig thee up to strengthen
and fix fast the hair.
Let the black locks spring thick and strong
and grow like reeds upon thy head.

p. 138, f. n. 2

59. Brought hitherward from Sindhu,
from a folk of every mingled race,
Fetched from afar, thou art, I deem,
a balm that cureth jealousy.

p. 138, f. n. 3

60. Let the gods' charm be bound on me
To keep me safe from every ill,
Come ye and enter all within this pillar,
the safeguard of the body, thrice defended.

p. 138, f. n. 4

61. This charm Brihaspati hath bound,
the fatness-dropping citron wood,
the potent *Khadira*, for strength, etc.

p. 138, f. n. 5

62. For manly strength Prajāpati bound thee on first, invincible.
This for long life on thee I bind for splendour,
strength and energy. Invincible, let it guard thee well

p. 139, f. n. 1

63. This amulet, decked with chain of gold,
Shall give faith, sacrifice and might,
and dwell as guest within our house.
To this we give apportioned food, clarified butter,
wine and wealth.
May it provide each boon for us
as doth father for his sons.

p. 139, f. n. 2

64. The fleet-foot roe-buck wears upon his head
a healing remedy.
Innate disease he drives away to all directions
with his horn.

p. 139, f. n. 3

65. Peerless mid golden ornaments art thou,
from Soma was thou born,
Thou gleamed on the quiver, thou art
beautiful upon the car.
May it prolong our days of life.

p. 139, f. n. 3

66. Bone of the gods became the pearl's shell-mother
endowed with soul it moveth in the waters,
I bind this on thee for life, strength and vigour.
For long life lasting through a hundred autumns.

p. 140, f. n. 1

67. The Consumption flee apart from it.
as from a wild beast fly the deer.
If thou, O Bdellium, art produced
from Sindhu or hast come from sea.

p. 140, f. n. 2

68. Of the all-conquering serpents' wrath,
of the fierce rays of Black and Brown Taimata
and Apodaka.

p. 140, f. n. 3

69. And Āligī and Viligī, their father and the mother too.
What will you do ? Your venomed sap, we know,
is utterly powerless.
Daughter of Urugūlä, she-fiend whom the black-
skinned mother bore.
All female serpents' poison who crept swiftly neaı
is impotent.

p. 140, f. n. 4

70. As vigorous Sindhu won himself imperial lordship
of the streams,
So be imperial queen when thou hast come
within thy husband's home.

p. 140, f. n. 5

71. Forth from the hills of snow they stream,
and rest in Sindhu here and there.

p. 140, f. n. 6

72. All rivers who have Sindhu for your lady,
Sindhu for your queen,
Give us the balm that heals this ill,
This boon let us enjoy from you.

p. 141, f. n. 1

73. Here there two winds are blowing far,
as Sindhu from a distant land.
May one breathe energy to thee,
the other blow thy fault away.

p. 141, f. n. 2

74. Who will set free from ruinous woe,
or Arya on the Seven Streams,
O valiant Hero, bend the Dasa's weapon down.

p. 141, f. n. 4

75. Bone of the gods became the pearl's shell-mother,
Endowed with soul it moveth in the waters.
I bind this on thee for life, strength and vigour,
For long life lasting through a hundred autumns.

p. 141, f. n. 5

76. The most maternal streams, wherein
the Dasas cast me securely bound,
have not devoured me.
When Traitana would cleave my head asunder
the Dasa wounded his own breast and shoulders.

p. 141, f. n. 6/1

77. At the sight of a tiger, wolf or a robber,
One who mutters the *Mantra* "न मां गरन् नद्यो॰"
Is immune from any harm due to them,
And becoming invisible saves others from danger, too.

p. 141, f. n.

INDEX

C

I

J

K

L

W

Y

Z

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aippan, A.—Pottery Braziers of Mohenjo-daro,
(Man, 1939, iv, e, 65)

2. Alcock, L.—The Dark Age in North-West India,
(Antiquity, June, 1952)
3. Ancient India No. 3.
4. Ancient India Nos. 10 and 11
5. Antiquity, Vol. XXIII
6. Antiquity, Vol. XXVI, 1952
7. Antiquity, No. 120, June, 1952
8. *Āśvalāyana Grihyasūtra*
9. *Atharvaveda*
10. Bhandarkar Comm. Volume
11. Cambridge Ancient History
12. Childe, V.G.—New Light on the Most Ancient East
13. Childe, V.G.—The Aryans
14. Coomaraswamy, A.K.—The *Yakshas*
15. Das, A.C.—Rigvedic Age
16. Gopinatha, T.A.—Hindu Iconography
17. *Gobhila Grihyasūtra*
18. Gupte, B.A.—Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials
19. Heine, G.R.—Archaeological Traces of the Vedic Aryans
(Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts
Vol. IV, No. 1, June, 1936)
20. *Hiraṇya-Keśin Grihyasūtra*
21. Hrozny, B.—Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete
22. Hunter, G.R.—Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro
23. Indian Antiquary
24. Langdon, S.—Excavations at Kish
25. Macdonell, A.A.—Vedic Mythology
26. Macdonell and Keith—Vedic Index
27. Mackay, E.—Excavations at Chanhu-daro
28. Mackay, E.—Further Excavations
29. Mackenzie, D.A.—Myths of Babylonia and Assyria
30. *Mahābhārata*
31. *Maritrāyanī Saṁhitā*
32. *Manusmriti*
33. Marshall, J.—Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization

34. Pargiter, F.A.—Ancient Indian Historical Tradition (1922)
35. *Rāmāyana*
36. *Rigveda*
37. Ross, E.J.—A Chalcolithic Site in Northern Baluchistan (Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Vol. V, Oct., 1946)
38. Sastri, K.N.—New Light on the Indus Civilization, Vol. I.
39. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
40. Schimdt, E.F.—Excavations at Tepe Hissar Damghan (1937)
41. Starr, F.S.—Indus Valley Painted Pottery
42. Stein, A.—Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 43
43. Vats, M.S.—Excavations at Harappa
44. Wace, J.B. and Thompson, M.S.—Prehistoric Thessaly (1912)
45. Ward, W.H.—Seal Cylinders of Western Asia
46. Wells, H.G.—History of the World
47. Wilson, H.H—*Rigveda* (English Translation)
48. Woolley, C.L.—Ur Excavations

ERRATA

p. 6, l. 45	Read	cloth	for	coth
p. 7, l. 9	do	Indus	,,	Indian
p. 15	Fig. 15	should be seen	upside	down
p. 15, l. 27	Read	ellipsoid	for	ellipsoin
p. 52, l. 19	do	trees	do	stress
p. 57, l. 10	do	leaves	do	eaves
p. 58, l. 46	do	as	do	a
p. 73, l. 6	do	graves	do	graver
p. 76, l. 7	do	Gangetic	do	Ganggetic
p. 82, l. 28	do	Widespread	do	Widspread
p. 85, l. 20	do	coming	do	comng
p. 92, l. 7	do	Fig. 63	do	Fig. 141
p. 95, l. 33	do	*Sampibate*	do	*Sambibate*
p. 96, l. 27	do	*ghrita-hradā*	do	*ghatahradā*
p. 120, l. 7	do	*Brahmani*	do	Brahman
p. 127, l. 20	do	of	do	for
p. 131, l. 21	do	*Vidrāvaṇa*	do	*Vidrānan*
p. 140, l. 26	do	*Kriśanaṁ*	do	*Kaśanaṁ*
p. 150, l. 39	do	Fig. 173	do	Fig. 172